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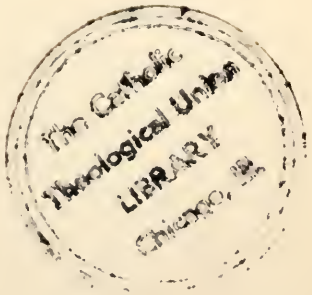
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Antonelli the Younger, First Engineer of the Indies

In November, 1595, the greatest of all Elizabethan naval expeditions stood off Puerto Rico intent on the capture of Sancho Pardo's disabled treasure galleon reputed to hold more than three million pesos in bullion.[1] The English fleet was composed of some twenty-eight warships and transports, many of which carried launches especilly designed for amphibious operations. In addition to the naval complement, Sis Thomas Baskerville commanded a force of 2,500 infantrymen for use as a landing force. To insure success the command of the expedition had been given to two of the most renowned of all the "sea dogs," John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake. Although the apparent purpose was an assault upon the Panamanian isthmus, what harm could come in plucking a treasure ship lying helpless in a minor port of the practically defenceless Spanish Indies?

Drake had been "champing at the bit" in disfavor at court following the dismal results of his attack on the Peninsula in 1589. But with the Spanish foray into Cornwall and the threat to Ireland Elizabeth finally consented once again to unleash the "dragon" upon the Spanish. Drake was anxious to renew his reputation which had reached its zenith in his expedition of 1585-86 and in the repulse of the *Armada invencible.* With his potent squadron he planned to return to the isthmus, the scene of his first brilliant victory in the early 'seventies.[2]

[1] Julian S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy, With a History of the Rise of England as a Maritime Power,* London, 1899, II, 381. The Spanish account of Drake's voyage, which differs substantially, may be found in Cesareo Fernández Duro, *Armada española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y de León,* Madrid, 1895, III, 106 f.

[2] Arthur Percival Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493–1688,* London, 1933, 109–111.

Instead of finding a terrified populace imbued with the familiar *pasamontista* attitude, the English sailed into a veritable hornet nest of defence activity. The Spanish obstructed one of the entrances to the harbor with two merchantmen which would force the interlopers to make a slow complicated navigation, a ship at a time, through the remaining narrow entrance. On a hill dominating the entrance stood *San Felipe del Morro,* a new and as yet uncompleted fortress mounting thirty-two cannon. The bulwark of *Santa Elena* supplemented the defence offered by that of *el Morro.* Within the harbor lay not a single disabled ship but a hastily gathered force of frigates.[3] The defences were manned by about 1,500 regulars.

Bancroft says of the initial action,

> The English soon found to their cost that enemy preparation had been made for a resolute defence. Anchoring near the town of San Juan de Puerto Rico, their vessels were exposed to a well directed fire from a battery of thirty guns. Drake's chair was struck from under him by a round shot as he sat at supper in his cabin, and after a loss of at least fifty killed and as many wounded the expedition sailed. . .[4]

Temporarily withdrawing, the English changed their tactics. On the night of November 23, 1595, a group of launches was sent in, and, in an interesting precedent to modern "frogmen" tactics, soundings were taken of the entrance after which twenty-five launches made a fire attack on the Spanish vessels. Such tactics had been tried before, and Sancho Pardo had survived the *Armada* episode learning only too well the methods of the British. Fires on three ships were controlled while nearly half of the English force was destroyed.[5]

The English withdrew to the western end of the island to count their losses, which included John Hawkins, the cause of whose death is disputed, and to reorganize. The expedition then proceeded to Río de la Hacha and Santa Marta, both of which became minor prizes. Appearing off Cartagena, which he had ravished in 1586, Drake found new fortifications that included, ". . . a wall twenty-five feet thick and twenty-two feet high, constructed of heavy beams inside and out, with the outside being protected by six feet of bomb-

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[3] The reliable Spanish naval historian, Fernández Duro, *Armada,* III, 108, uses the term "frigata" instead of "galeón" without comment. The frigate did not come into general use until a later date. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy,* II, 338, states that the vessels were probably "gallezabras," the direct precursor of the frigate.

[4] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft,* San Francisco, 1886, VII, 422.

[5] Fernández Duro, *Armada,* III, 109.

proof cement, and having escarpment and parapet . . ." at a place where once he had entered unmolested. An attack was not delivered.[6]

Drake's luck, thus far poor, gave out completely in Panama. Although he occupied Nombre de Dios in January, 1596, he found the Chagres River fortified, the main route across the isthmus closed at Capirilla and a force of regulars with field artillery under Alonso de Sotomayor awaiting him. After suffering heavy casualties, Baskerville's infantry attack was finally repulsed by a stratagem employed by a small force of Spanish reenforcements. The English reembarked and twice within two months withdrew to count their losses. The situation became critical when Drake suddenly came down with a fever and died. The command passed after serious dissension to Baskerville, while Thomas Drake was made vice-admiral.[7]

When news of the English raids reached Spain, the *Armada de la guarda de la Carrera de las Indias* consisting of over a dozen ships and upwards of 3,000 men under the command of Capitán General Bernardino de Avellandra was dispatched to the Indies as a relief force. The Spanish caught the English fleet unawares off the Isle of Pines, and the first fleet action ever fought in the New World took place, but with indecisive results.[8] The English fortunately did not attack Havana as other squadrons had done in earlier years; its imposing new fortifications might well have dealt a death blow to the ill-fated expedition. The remnants of the English squadron proceeded through the Florida Channel and returned home having lost some twenty of the twenty-eight vessels and having sustained innumerable casualties including its two famed commanders.[9]

The decade which separated Drake's last two expeditions had seen a significant change wrought in the Indies. Where once the major ports had stood unprotected or, at best, guarded only by temporary structures which seldom could endure even occasional storms, there had been built several formidable fortresses whose efficacy—or inefficacy—was to determine much of the political as well as military history of the Americas in the centuries to come.

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[6] Enrique Marco Dorta, *Cartagena de Indias: la ciudad y sus monumentos*, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Seville, 1951, 54.

[7] Corbett, *Drake*, II, 401; Fernández Duro, *Armada*, III, 114, again is in disagreement.

[8] Newton, *European Nations*, 113, Bernardino had a distinguished military record in Africa, Italy, and France; Fernández Duro, *Armada*, III, 114.

[9] *Ibid.*, III, 114–115.

Although there are a few excellent sources dealing with some of the forts which stand even today, works such as Irene Wright's *Historia documentada . . . ,* Enrique Marco Dorta's *Cartagena de Indias* or José Antonio Calderón's *Historia de las fortificaciones en Nueva España,* there is no adequate explanation in English of the defensive system created by Philip II and his *Consejo real y supremo de las Indias.* Unfortunately, the dearth of materials extends into the works of the Spanish historians, with but isolated references available. Had it not been for the chance discovery of a series of documents found in a parcel of manuscript folio in the monastery of San Lorenzo well over a century ago, the military engineer who planned and helped to build one of the most elaborate defensive networks in history might have remained in obscurity forever.

Juan Bautista Antonelli, sometimes called "The Younger" to distinguish him from his older brother who bore the same name,[10] was one of a small and select group of military and hydrographic engineers whose devoted service to their kings helped to extend the outposts of the Spanish empire throughout the world. Supposedly natives of Gaetea, Rumania, the Antonellis virtually furnished a family dynasty of military engineers to the Spanish Habsburgs. The older brother arriving in Spain in 1559 saw engineering duty in Oran, Madrid, Algiers, and in the Spanish occupation of Portugal and performed an admirable service in making navigable long stretches of such rivers as the Tagus and Guadalquivir. The younger brother spent most of his career in planning and building the major fortifications of the Spanish Indies, a work which was continued by his son.[11]

Antonelli the Younger entered the service of Philip II shortly after 1570.[12] His early career consisted in various assignments in Navarra, Cataluna and Valencia. He assisted his brother in fortifying Oran (1574). He also aided in the engineering of the forts of Peñiscola and Alicante after which he was assigned to Lisbon.

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10 Diego Angulo Iñíguez, *Bautista Antonelli: las fortificaciones americanas del siglo XVI,* Madrid, 1942, 4. The term used was "Juan Bautista el Mozo".

11 Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restauración,* illustrated and enlarged by Juan Agustín Cean-Bermúdez, Madrid, 1829, III, 9–11. Although Spanish authorities give the Antonellis' birthplace as Gaetea, Rumania, perhaps they were born in Gaetia on the Italian peninsula, as their marked Italian names would indicate.

12 The following account, unless otherwise documented, is based upon the above cited works of Llaguno or of Angulo Iñíguez whose work largely follows the documents printed by Llaguno.

At this juncture in his career Antonelli was ordered to Sarmiento de Gamboa's luckless expedition which had as its purpose the fortification of the Straits of Magellan. This interesting project reflected a change in the royal policy toward defending the Indies. The Hawkins episode at Vera Cruz in 1568 had shaken the royal attitude that defensive measures for the Indies could be limited to a well organized *flota* system by means of which the Indies themselves would be responsible in large measure for their own defence. Drake's circumnavigation (1577-1580) by way of the Strait of Magellan provided the stimulus needed to set in motion a series of events which led to the first systematic and coordinated effort to provide adequate fortifications in the Indies. Don Francisco de Toledo, the viceroy of Peru, in an attempt to stop further forays along the west coast of South America, conceived the idea of fortifying the Straits and to this end dispatched Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa as *Capitán Superior de la Jornada* to make a reconnaisance of the forbidding passages. After completing a remarkable hydrographic and geographic study, and, incidentally, the first west to east transit of the Straits, Sarmiento arrived in Spain in August, 1580. The *Consejo* undertook a study of the proposal. Such authorities as the Duke of Alva, the Marqués of Santa Cruz, Tiburcio Spanoqui, the king's engineer, and the older Antonelli approved and enlarged the plan. Philip II is even reputed to have worked out the details of the consignment of troops and townspeople to the proposed settlement.[13]

Antonelli departed from Cádiz on the first of his four voyages to the Indies on December 9, 1581, in the fleet commanded by Flores de Valdés. The expedition reached Río in late March, 1582, where it wintered. While departing for the Straits on January 7, 1583, Antonelli's ship was sunk in an accident, and Flores refused to turn back to pick up the survivors. This unfortunate incident did, however, probably save the young engineer's life, for only a single person survived the colonization attempt.[14]

Having returned to Spain, Antonelli found the next few years to be the hardest of his life. At one time he was about to enter a monastery, but Juan de Ibarra, secretary of the *Consejo,* became his benefactor and secured his appointment to accompany Juan de Tejada, who was to make a military inspection of the Indies. The *Consejo* had been developing a "vast plan of fortifications" and needed an

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13 Fernández Duro, *Armada,* II, 353–358.

14 *Ibid.,* II, 361–374. See also, Bernard E. Bobb, "Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa and the Strait of Magellan," *Pacific Historical Review,* XVII (August, 1948), 269–282.

engineer to make a survey of the sites which would be necessary, to advise Tejada on technical matters and to report back to the *Consejo* with recommendations before definitive construction orders were issued.

The *cédula* under which Tejada and Antonelli undertook the journey, besides appointing Antonelli as the royal engineer to the Indies, set forth the new policy of extensive fortification at royal expense and thus is of considerable importance. The document was dated Valencia, February 15, 1586, and reads in part:

> As is convenient to my service and the good care of the coasts of the Indies and general welfare of my subjects and natives, as well as to my kingdom and for the trade and commerce and security of the fleets which come and go to the Indies, I have consented that there be made fortifications, towers, watchtowers necessary in the parts and places most fitting. To see and visit these coasts, to reconnoiter and note down those parts in which there should be made and built and such dispositions as should be made for their building and fortifying, I name Juan de Tejada . . . . and to go with him Baptista Antonelli. . .[15]

The pair made the voyage to the Indies in the fleet of Alvaro Flores de Quiñones and debarked at Cartagena de Indias on July 18, 1586. Instead of a quiet tropical port the engineer found a panic-stricken populace and the town partially destroyed following Drake's recent occupation. Seeing the need for improvising a system of temporary defences to ward off any immediate threat, Antonelli set to work at once. He advised that a terraplaned wooden fort one hundred and thirty feet square and twenty feet high be constructed on Punta de los Icacos, which commanded Boca Grande, the major entrance to the port, and that a tower be built on the Isla de Cares, the opposite shore. A tower should also cover Boca Chica, the second entrance to the port. At various points around the city, which he believed vulnerable, a stockade and trench system was planned. In order that the San Francisco road could be more easily defended, he planned to cut it and build a bridge and network of trenches. He also planned to build three gun platforms on the beaches. The next step, he advised, would be to wall the city. He prepared cost figures, the largest item of which was 55,600 ducats for the fort on Punta de los Icacos.[16]

In August, Antonelli again in the company of Juan de Tejada, took passage to the Panamanian isthmus where he remained until

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15 Llaguno, III, 244–245.

16 Dorta, *Cartagena*, figures 91–100 illustrate sixteenth century Cartagena.

the end of the year. On December 14, he wrote the Duke of Medina-Sidona from Cartagena recommending the proposed move from Nombre de Dios to Portobello, while adding recommendations for certain fortifications and royal buildings. He included in his engineering report several sketches. From Cartagena Tejada and Antonelli sailed to Havana where the engineer made the definitive plans for *La Fortaleza de Tres Reyes del Morro.* Returning to Spain, Antonelli submitted his report to the *Consejo.* His estimate of the cost of the structures recommended by him was 166,000 ducats provided that cheap Negro slave labor was used. He regretted that he had been unable to visit Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico and Florida.[17]

The king's engineer approved the plans submitted. Thereupon with a view to their execution a royal *cédula* dated November 23, 1588, ordered Tejada and Antonelli to return to the Indies. The engineer was to advise and inspect the work done at the areas previously visited and, in addition, visit Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Florida and Santa Marta. He was also instructed to make a study of a proposed scheme to move the northern terminus of the Peruvian *flota* system from Panama to the Gulf of Fonseca, where a road was projected across Honduras to Puerto Caballos. His salary was increased from 1,000 to 1,200 ducats yearly.

Four vessels transported Tejada and Antonelli, a group of stone cutters and bricklayers, an overseer and a quantity of construction material to the Indies. Unfortunately, a storm dispersed the ships before the destination was reached. Although saving himself, the engineer lost his valuable supplies. Undaunted, he immediately began work on the defences of Puerto Rico.

As he had done previously at Cartagena, Antonelli planned a temporary defensive system, in this case a series of ditches and parapets, which would be augmented by a long range program. As a permanent fortification Antonelli ordered the construction of San Felipe del Morro and the bulwark of Santa Elena. Both structures played a key role in the repulse of Drake and Hawkins in November, 1595.

Tejada and Antonelli reached Santo Domingo on April 25, 1589, where they remained for less than a month. Following a study of Drake's tactics there in 1586, Antonelli recommended the fortification of the Jaina River, making a model as well as other plans. A wall with bulwarks was planned to defend the city. The pair departed for Havana on May 15, 1589, where Antonelli assisted in the con-

[17] Llaguno, III, 248–249.

struction of the *morro.* In mid-December, he was ordered to make a tour of New Spain and Honduras.

Arriving at San Juan de Ulúa in February, Antonelli set to work redesigning, repairing and enlarging the primitive defences of the island. On March 12, he submitted his plans to Don Luis de Velasco, the viceroy. His plan included provisions for the construction of two new bulwarks and the prolongation of the fortress curtain to protect the anchorage from the cruel northwesters. The engineer was dissatisfied with the primitive method used for unloading the *flotas,* a method which sometimes consumed five months. He recommended that the town of Vera Cruz be moved from its present exposed location twenty kilometers north of the island of San Juan de Ulúa to Ventas de Buitrón, opposite the island. The move would serve the double purpose of increasing the efficiency of the unloading operation and improving the defences of the town. The engineer commented, ". . . because if perhaps a tyrant appears, God Forbid it, if Your Majesty has this fort well fortified, you could send men and guns ashore [to protect Vera Cruz]."[18]

Although Tejada did accompany him on this tour of inspection, Antonelli was by no means a free agent. His party consisted of as many as three prominent persons one of whom, Captain Pedro Ochoa de Leguizamón, proved a constant source of irritation. In regard to Antonelli's proposals for improving San Juan de Ulúa, Ochoa severely criticized the recommendation for the two new bulwarks. There was also a controversy as to whether salt water should be used in mixing mortar, a controversy which was extended over several years. When Antonelli set out on a tour of Doctor Palacio's new road from Vera Cruz to Mexico City, the new-found critic insisted that the length of the trip (which took two and a half months) was due to the "agreeable Mexican life" rather than to technical matters.[19]

From Mexico Antonelli and two companions travelled overland to the Bay of Fonseca which was reached on June 14. The engineer was enthusiastic about the potentialities of the area remarking that it might become a "second Seville." However, his survey of San Juan de Puerto de Caballos on the Caribbean pointed out several undesirable features. The bay was open, making loading and unloading difficult, and was hard to defend. Furthermore, the proposed road from the Pacific to the Caribbean would be difficult to

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[18] José Antonio Calderón y Quijano, *Historia de las fortificaciones en Nueva España,* Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1953, 13–16.

[19] Angulo Iñíguez, *Bautista Antonelli.* 41,

service, since an estimated 14,000 mules would be necessary to provide adequate transportation. Over the violent protests of Ochoa, Antonelli recommended that the use of the Panamanian route be continued.[20]

As early as 1577 Havana had been described as the strongest fort in the Indies. The port had supplanted Santo Domingo as the most important port of the Antilles because of its strategic location. It had served as a base for the exploitation of New Spain and Florida and was the marshalling area for the *flotas* preparing for the return voyage to Spain. In 1579, the city received from Seville an arms plaque to which ships were required to pay honors. Many proposals had been made concerning the protection of the city and not without reason, for Havana, a favorite target for corsairs, had been sacked by the French in 1538 and 1555 and seriously threatened by Drake in 1586.[21]

Antonelli had become convinced during his visit in 1586 that El Morro was the key to the defenses of Havana, writing to the Council that it was "... the strongest site I have seen ... it was master of the city and the ships."[22] Tejada favored the fortification of La Punta which was opposite the mouth of the bay. The plan adopted was to fortify both and build supplementary works including a ravelin and several bulwarks. Antonelli placed the first stones of Tres Reyes del Morro during the last days of 1589 following his return from Honduras.[23]

The next few years were full of the drudgery, annoyances and intrigues that one might expect in such a vast engineering project. Antonelli complained of the lack of workers, of his lack of authority and of the friction with civil authorities. In 1591, Antonelli was further beset by an additional handicap. He contracted a disease, later diagnosed an erysipelas, which is characterized by an inflamation of the skin. This disease forced Antonelli to be bed-ridden on several occasions in the future. His condition seems to have been alleviated, however, in 1593, when he received new orders outlining in more detail his jurisdiction and granting him a salary increase of six hundred ducats annually. It is impossible to evaluate accurately the claims and counter-claims of corruption. Antonelli wrote that he would be better treated by the Turks, charging that Maldonado,

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20 *Ibid.*, 43.
21 *Ibid.*, 48. See also Irene A. Wright, *The Early History of Cuba, 1492–1586*, New York, 1916, 215 f.
22 Llaguno, III, 255.
23 Angulo Iñíguez, *Bautista Antonelli*, 49–50.

Tejada's successor, distributed jobs to relatives. This charge was countered by the allegation that Antonelli had not only acquired an estate which was served by the fortress workers, but that he was also guilty of sodomy.[24]

Besides his work on the military projects, Antonelli made two other important contributions to the future growth of Cuba. In 1593, he reported the discovery and survey of a large copper deposit which he estimated would supply the needs not only of all the Indies but of the peninsula as well. He is also credited with solving Havana's acute water shortage problem by the construction of a canal system. Since the sugar mills that were constructed along the canal proved successful, Antonelli was indirectly responsible for Cuba's sugar industry.[25]

Reluctantly turning his work in Havana over to Cristóbal de Roda, a nephew, the ailing engineer obeyed the orders of his king and in the fall of 1594 sailed for Portobello. Antonelli's new assignments were to aid in the move from Nombre de Dios to Portobelo and in the fortification of Cartagena. A storm forced his vessel to alter its course from Portobelo to Cartagena where it arrived in early November. After spending two weeks inspecting the work accomplished on Cartagena's defences, he wrote the king that more men, money and supplies as well as time would be needed to complete his plans. He departed for the isthmus on November 20, 1594.[26]

Shortly after his arrival in Panama City Antonelli suffered a reoccurence of the disease which had afflicted him in Havana. He was forced to remain in bed two months, lamenting to the king that his illness had cost him eight hundred ducats. Upon recovering he started to work drafting plans of the public buildings and defences of the new town of Portobelo as well as a road to link it with the Nombre de Dios—Panama City route. In addition, a bridge over the Chagres River was planned.[27]

At the end of June it was learned that England was preparing a fleet for an attack on the isthmus. Antonelli thus had his earlier fears substantiated and renewed his work on a provisional defensive system that included a trench network to Portobelo, a tower on the Chagres River, improvement of the roads, and the fortification of a strategic hill guarding the approaches to Panama City. The

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[24] *Ibid.*, 54 f.
[25] *Ibid.*, 55; in this Wright, *Early History of Cuba*, concurs, 370.
[26] Llaguno, III, 271.
[27] Angulo Iñíguez, *Bautista Antonelli*, 61.

delays by the Audiencia de Panamá in formulating a plan of defence caused Antonelli to complain that colonial administrators should be soldiers rather than lawyers, a charge which he long maintained applied to all the Indies. Fortunately, Don Alonso de Sotomayor, an old Spanish soldier and the governor of Chile, arrived in early December with a relief force. Shortly thereafter he assumed the title of Capitán-General and appointed Antonelli his engineering advisor.[28]

The climax of Antonelli's career was rapidly approaching. He exhibited his characteristic skill and capacity for work. He advised the hasty fortification of Capirilla hill on the Nombre de Dios—Panama City road and started building defensive works on the Chagres River. On January 8, 1596, Drake's fleet entered Nombre de Dios harbor and occupied the town without opposition. Baskerville's force set out for Panama City. Antonelli closed the Chagres with a log-chain and withdrew to a better artillery position. As planned, Sotomayor's infantry made their stand at Capirilla. Although the English made some initial gains on the Spanish arquebusiers, a small Spanish relief force arrived at a critical juncture and, making a feint with trumpets blaring, caused the English to withdraw leaving numerous casualties. Panama City and its treasure of seven million pesos were saved. Antonelli's abilities as a military engineer were fully demonstrated. In gratitude, Philip II granted him nine hundred ducats.[29]

When the crisis of 1596 was over, much work was necessary to restore the defences of the isthmus, to plan and to construct new works, particularly in the Portobelo area. The fort of San Pablo was built on the *morro* of Capirilla. A great deal of effort was made to improve the Portobelo—Nombre de Dios road in the following year. The inhabitants of the latter town exhibited a great deal of reluctance to the proposed move to Portobelo. Antonelli observed that the best way to effect the move was to divert the silver shipment to Portobelo which, of course, necessitated a priority in the road construction program. During 1597, Antonelli planned the permanent defences of Portobelo envisioning three fortresses: San Felipe, Sotomayor, and Santiago, the first of which was started on September 11, 1597, following elaborate formalities.

Again plagued by an attack of erysipelas, Antonelli requested that he be replaced, commenting that the roads were finished, the forts

[28] *Ibid.*, 69–73.
[29] *Ibid.*, 65 f.

nearly done and the town designed and in the process of construction. As in the past he found it difficult to obtain his reassignment to the peninsula. He spent some time in inspecting Santa Marta, Río de la Hacha and in supervising his provisional defences at San Augustín and Santa Elena in Florida. In 1603, he took passage to Spain after fifteen consecutive years in the Indies.[30]

Although returning briefly to the Indies in 1604 to recommend a plan whereby the foreign intrusion into the salt pans of Araya[31] could be checked and later serving at Gibraltar and in North Africa, Antonelli, during his third tour in the Indies, laid the basic groundwork of the defences of Spain's colonial empire in America. Even a cursory review from not altogether satisfactory sources reveals that his work had a vast and probably unsuspected influence on the development of colonial middle-American history. The forts in Havana, Cartagena, San Juan de Ulúa, Portobelo, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico became the symbols of royal authority in the Indies, and, on occasion, provided the essentials for a defence against foreign aggression.[32] Even though enlarged and supplemented by later engineers, those fortresses were originally conceived by Antonelli. Besides his works of masonry, Antonelli's influence extended into other fields. In Cuba he surveyed and recommended the exploitation of copper deposits, built the first satisfactory water supply system and is even indirectly responsible for the development of Cuba's sugar industry. In New Spain he recommended the site of the present city of Vera Cruz. He vetoed the Peru-Honduras *flota* scheme. He was partially responsible for the transfer of commerce from Nombre de Dios to Portobelo, and the colonial road system of the Panamanian isthmus was largely his work.

The loss of records may ever prevent the compilation of a satisfactory detailed account of the Spanish Indies in the sixteenth century, but it seems just that there be added to the roll of intrepid colonizers, administrators and soldiers the name of the first engineer of the Indies, Bautista Antonelli.

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30 *Ibid.*, 74 f.

31 Antonelli's impressive report is published in Llaguno, III, 278–285. An excellent study of foreign interest in the salt pans of Araya is Engel Sluiter, "Dutch-Spanish Rivalry in the Caribbean Area, 1594–1609," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXVIII (May, 1948), 165–196, especially 176 f.

32 One of the most famous defenses made by Cartagena repulsed Vernon's determined attack in 1741; Dorta, *Cartagena*, 135–136.

Some Neglected Archives of Europe

It is rather a commonplace to state that a history of the origins of North and South American institutions and much of the development of cultural and material patterns in Canada, Mexico and Middle America cannot be written outside the archives of European countries. This fact, it is true, has been recognized for more than a century by all American men of letters who have pretended to any critical scholarship; and the earliest of the American historians and antiquarians—Obadiah Rich (1783–1850), Jared Sparks (1789–1866), William H. Prescott (1796–1859), George Bancroft (1800–1891), Buckingham Smith (1810–1871), Francis Parkman (1823–1893), John Gilmary Shea (1824–1892), Henry Charles Lea (1825–1909), Henry Adams (1838–1918), and Alexander Brown (1843–1906)—labored industriously to secure copies of a large variety of documents bearing on the history of North America. During this same general period, Herbert Baxter Adams, Justin Winsor and other graduates from American universities betook themselves to Germany, France, England and other European countries to gather their materials and even to take their doctoral degrees. The *John Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science* (1878), the *Narrative and Critical History of America* (1884), and the reading at the organization meeting of the American Historical Association at Saratoga, New York, September 9–10, 1884, of his "Town and Country Government in the English Colonies" by Edward Channing, the first paper at its first meeting, marked the coming of age of historical scholarship on this side of the Atlantic.[1]

Besides these efforts undertaken by private agencies, several States and the Government of the United States of America, as

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Editor's note. The substance of this paper was read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in Vancouver, December 28–30, 1952.

[1] Two papers were presented during the day of the organization of the Association, September 9; Channing read his paper the following day to the newly organized Association. "The first paper, presented in abstract, was by Dr. Edward Channing...." *Papers of the American Historical Association,* New York and London, 1885, I, No. 1, 23. Channing's paper was published in *John Hopkins University Studies,* 2nd Series, No. 10, Baltimore, 1884.

well as other governments in North America and various historical societies, began to interest themselves in the acquisition of transcripts of materials in European archives, particularly in England. New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Maine, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, California, New Hampshire, and the Library of Congress are examples of such farsighted concern. In the same category may be included the Dominion of Canada, the Province of Quebec, and the United States of Mexico, which have accumulated thousands of transcripts from various archives in Europe. Among private societies that have been interested in the same laudable work, The American Antiquarian Society, organized in 1812, is easily the pioneer body. The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, which began its labors in 1903, has since then systematically published Guides and Documents too numerous to mention and too well known for further comment. The Native Sons of the Golden West, founded in 1875, by establishing research fellowships at the University of California in 1910, have greatly encouraged historical investigation abroad. Private collectors, too, such as Dr. William R. Manning, Dr. William R. Shepherd, Dr. Woodbury Lowery, Dr. H. Morse Stephens, Dr. William Spence Robertson, Dr. Frank A. Golder, Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton, Dr. Charles Carroll Griffin, Dr. Lawrence H. Gipson, and Dr. Earl J. Hamilton, have greatly enriched the libraries of the Universities or departments of the Government to which they were (and some still are) attached by their indefatigable and highly rewarding labors.

These contributions to American depositories, by public and private agencies, are succinctly set forth in a small volume[2] recently published in Mexico City. However, a cursory reading of this excellent study will advertise the fact that the archives so successfully explored by these agencies were almost entirely public archives. But besides these public depositories there are many private archives —largely, though not exclusively, religious—which have never been exploited by American scholars and which, I dare say, are equal in importance for the whole story of the origins and development of European expansion in North America to those archives generally referred to by American scholars as *the* archives of Europe, and are equally rich in materials. It is to those archives in Europe, almost entirely neglected, that I wish to call your attention. I shall begin

[2] Roscoe R. Hill, *American missions in European archives*, Mexico, D. F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geographia e Historia, 1951.

this paper with a discussion of the archives of the Oeuvre apostolique pour la Propagation de la Foi.[3]

These archives, which are not to be confounded with those of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome, are located at Paris in France and at Fribourg[4] in Switzerland. Their holdings go back to 1819; and it is no exaggeration to say that there is not a single diocese[5] in North or South America which has not at some time or other received funds from the Oeuvre apostolique. These depositories are treasure-troves which the historians of the United States, secular or ecclesiastical, have neglected almost entirely to the great hurt (as I believe) of scholarship. In them can be read the story of the beginnings and development of the dioceses of Boston, Cincinnati, Toronto, Bardstown, Chicago, Santa Fe, San Francisco, Charleston, New York, Oregon City, Guatemala City, Vancouver Island (Victoria), and of numerous others from the Panama Canal Zone to Alaska.[6] There too can be found precious letters of John England,

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[3] This is better known as the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Officially founded at Lyons, May 3, 1822, a second center was shortly afterward established at Paris, hence control resides to the present in the Two Councils; Les deux Conseils is constantly found in the vast correspondence of the Oeuvre; See Edward J. Hickey, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Its Foundation, Organization and Success, 1822–1922*, Washington, 1922.

[4] In 1937, because of the imminence of war, the archives of the Oeuvre apostolique at Lyons were removed for safekeeping to Fribourg. They are still there.

[5] That is, any diocese created before 1900. However, in a sense my sentence stands literally true, for almost all dioceses created since that date are really divisions of earlier dioceses, which did receive financial assistance from the Oeuvre. Hence, those Sees created after 1900 participated in the benefactions bestowed upon the diocese of which they were formerly a part. Thus the diocese of Spokane, erected in 1913, is a division of the diocese of Seattle. This See, in turn, was originally the diocese of Nisqually, whose boundaries were coterminous with the Territory (since 1889, the State) of Washington. And Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet of Nisqually and his early successors received great financial assistance from the Oeuvre.

[6] A pertinent reference to the potentialities of these private archives will be found in Hubert Jacobs, S.J., "The Potawatomi Mission, 1854: Introduction," in MID-AMERICA, XXXVI (1954), 220–226. This article serves to introduce a manuscript preserved in the archives of the Collegium Germanicum in Rome and written by Rev. Maurice Gaillard. The manuscript, dated *S^e Marie* (St. Mary's, Kansas), *mission des Potewatemis, le 5 juin, 1854*, is reproduced, *loc. cit.*, 227–236; a translation by Jerome V. Jacobsen, follows, 237–248. In his 'Introduction' Father Jacobs points out that Father Gaillard wrote "of the country as a native of Kansas, of its animals, plants, climate, the people and their savage customs, their faults and virtues, of the national political situation and the possible results of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and last on the Potawatomi Mission itself, the Apostolic Vicar, the priests, brothers, and nuns and their labor for the salvation of Indian souls" (p. 220). And an article by William Mulder, "Through Immigrat Eyes: Utah History

of Gibbons, of Flaget, of Hughes, of Powers, of Bourget, of Blanchet, of Baraga, of Odin, and of dozens of others commenting on Indian cultures, frontier institutions, urban developments, and political and economic conditions in the burgeoning United States, in Canada, Mexico, and the Central American republics. Not only did the movement for the propagation of the Faith, initiated by a young girl[7] in Lyons, spread over France from its twin centers in Lyons and Paris, but it reached to all parts of Europe, to Belgium and Holland, to England and Ireland, to Italy, to the Germanies, and to the Hapsburg dominions. Especially at Munich and Vienna are there large and rich depositories of mission materials, in the archives of the *Ludwig-Missionsverein*[8] and the *Leopoldinen-Stiftung*,[9] respectively.

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at the Grass Roots," in a recent number of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII (1954) 41–55, urges American scholars to consult materials in Danish archives. Almost every issue of *The Americas* (Academy of American Franciscan History), now in its XIIth year, amply demonstrates the same truth.

[7] Mlle. Pauline-Marie Jaricot (1799–1862) in 1819, while her parents were playing a game of "Boston," conceived the idea of organizing groups of ten (*dizaines*) under a promoter, each member of which would contribute weekly one *sou* for the propagation of the Faith. Each *dizaine* in turn was associated with nine other groups of like number to form a hundred (*centaine*) under a captain. The captains would monthly send the contribution of their *centaine* to a central treasurer. L'Oeuvre apostolique, at its official foundation, 3 May, 1822, took over the plan, which with varying success literally spread over the Catholic world. For a Life of this remarkable woman and of her times, see David Lathoud, *Pauline Jaricot*, Paris: Bonne Presse, 1937, 2 vols.

[8] Rampant nationalism in nineteenth century Europe prevented the French Oeuvre apostolique from securing co-operation from the Germanies, where separate apostolic organizations were formed; see Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap., *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States*, New York, 1933, and Williband Mathaser, O.S.B., *Der Ludwig-Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I. von Bayern*, Munchen, 1939. This society was founded December 12, 1838, by and with the name of Ludwig I, who would not permit his subjects to contribute to a French charity.

[9] The Leopoldine Association as founded at Vienna May 13, 1829, under the auspices of Emperor Francis I, who named it for his daughter, Leopoldina, wife of Pedro I of Brazil. The idea was inspired by Father Frederick Reze on his visit to Austria in 1828. Within two years more than $15,000 was sent to Bishop Edward D. Fenwick of Cincinnati, Reze's Ordinary. The thriving work of the organization was suspended at the outbreak of World War I. It had sent many notable clerics to America, including Bishop Frederick Baraga of Marquette, Michigan; see Theodore Roemer, *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States, United States Catholic Historical Society Monograph Series*, XIII, New York, 1933; Johannes Thauren, S.V.D., *Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung zur Unterstützung der amerikanishen Missionen*, Wein-Molding, 1940; the appendix is an index to the *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung* which was published annually from 1831 to 1914. On European societies' contributions to the American Church see Theodore Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms*, St. Louis, 1942; Bernard Arens, S.J., *Manuel des Missions catholiques*, Louvain, Editions du Museum Lessianum, No. 3, 1925.

Besides materials on dioceses there are in these archieves materials on religious communities such as Lazarists, Dominicans, Madames of the Sacred Heart, Franciscans, Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Jesuits and many others, and on institutions such as the University of Notre Dame, Georgetown University, Fordham University, St. Mary's Seminary (Baltimore), and Gonzaga College, Spokane. The Jesuit fathers of the Province of France, who moved en masse from Bardstown to found St. John's College (Fordham University today) in 1841, appealed again and again to the Presidents of the Two Councils at Paris and at Lyons for financial assistance, and in their *rapports* they relayed to those councils valuable information on their labors, their surroundings and their plans. Father Sorin,[10] too, wrote numerous letters to the same Oeuvre Apostolique soliciting funds and other material assistance, while in one of his letters, dated Rome, 19 March 1852, he narrates in considerable detail the early beginnings of Le Collège de Notre Dame du Lac (Notre Dame University today). Moreover, there are maps in these same archives. And in Paris I came upon one signed by the Most Reverend F. N. Blanchet[11] entitled "Carte de la Province ecclésiastique de l'Oregon," probably made while this prelate was in that city in 1846. To sum up this

[10] Edward Sorin, C.S.C. (1814–1893) soon after his ordination was selected by his superiors in France to establish the Congregation of the Holy Cross in the United States. He arrived with six companions in the diocese of Vincennes, Indiana, in the late fall of 1841. That same winter he began the foundation of Notre Dame University. Sorin was the founder also of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in the United States and of the *Ave Maria*, a very influential Catholic periodical. In 1868 Sorin was elected the superior-general of his Congregation, in which office he continued until his death.

[11] Francis Norbert Blanchet (1795–1883), born at St.-Pierre-de-la-rivière-du-Sud (near Levis), Province of Quebec, was the first Archbishop of Oregon City. His Province was the Oregon Country, whose limits, not immediately affected by the Treaty of Washington, June 15, 1846, continued indefinite for a number of years. Blanchet came to the Oregon Country as a missionary and the *grand vicaire* of the Archbishop of Quebec in 1838; was consecrated Bishop of Philadelphia (modern Amman, Trans-Jordan) *in partibus infidelium* at Montreal in 1845, and appointed Archbishop of Oregon City, while he was in Europe, on July 24, 1846. Blanchet resigned his See in 1880 and died at Portland, Oregon, three years later. His younger brother, the Most Reverend Augustine Magloire Alexander Blanchet (1797–1887), was consecrated Bishop of Walla Walla at Montreal in 1846. He came overland to his See in the following year, but as the Whitman massacre (November 29, 1847) made his stay there impolitic, his See was transferred to Nisqually (actually he lived at Fort Vancouver) in 1850. Bishop Blanchet resigned his See in 1879 but continued to reside at Vancouver, W. T., where he died in 1887. The See of Nisqually was transferred to Seattle in 1907, and the Metropolitan See of Oregon City, to Portland in 1928.

part of my paper, I can say that the editing of the documents bearing on the trans-Mississippi West and Northwest in these archives (or on any section of Canada, Mexico, Central America, or the United States) would greatly enrich our knowledge and severely correct many of our conclusions regarding the history of the areas concerned.

Complementary to these archives are those of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome, for this Congregation, established in 1622, is immediately in charge of all missionary countries, among which those of North America until very recently[12] were included. Thus the correspondence of archbishops, of bishops, of vicars-apostolic, and of other prelates from the earliest years of our colonial history down to nearly the close of the first decade in this century of our national life is largely deposited in the archives of this Congregation. All discussions, for example, regarding the establishment of Sees, the limitation of ecclesiastical boundaries, the appointment of bishops, the opening of seminaries, religious houses and colleges, the foundation and extension of missions, and related matters are to be found therein. A notable document from this depository, to instance but one, is that drawn up by the then Bishop of Drasa[13] *in partibus infidelium,* Most Reverend Francis N. Blanchet, wherein the recently consecrated bishop urged in 1845 the creation of one ecclesiastical province in the entire Pacific Northwest, with an archbishop at Oregon City and suffragan Sees at Walla Walla, Vancouver Island, Fort Hall, New Caledonia, Queen Charlotte Islands, and Fort Colville. Since the Catholic Church from the discovery and earliest exploration of the North American continent has played such a large role in the peopling and the reduction of every section thereof, how can we have an authentic history of the Pacific Northwest, or of any other area in North America, until these materials are edited critically?

In Rome, too, are the general depositories of various Orders and Congregations such as the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the

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12 Pius X, by the Apostolic Constitution, "Sapienti Consilio," of June 28, 1908, removed the bishops of the United States from the jurisdiction of the Congregatio de Propagande Fide; effective November 3, 1908, the decree removed the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland, from the classification of "mission lands" and constituted the provinces as part of the hierarchy of the Church; see *Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* (1909), I, 78.

13 As the title, vicar-apostolic of Philadelphia *in partibus,* originally given to Blanchet, might easily have been confused with modern Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania, it was changed to Drasa, as soon as this possible confusion was brought to the attention of the Cardinal-Prefect of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide.*

Madames of the Sacred Heart, the Lazarists, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Redemptorists, the Jesuits and others. The archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate[14] will exemplify my point with respect to the Pacific Northwest; for folder upon folder there is filled with materials on Fort Simcoe, Snohomish, Tulalip, Olympia, Esquimalt Bay, Vancouver, B. C., the Fraser River, and Cariboo Trail, as well as repeated references to Kamiakan, the Yakima chief, the Indian War of 1853–1855, the Cayuses, Governor Stevens, the Reverend Mr. Staines, and day by day affairs. These archives, in short, are untapped veins of golden materials on the Pacific Northwest, which are entirely unexplored by historians—to their great loss. In the Jesuit archives, to instance a further example, there are three fat bundles on the Rocky Mountains alone and I know not how much invaluable material on the Indians of North America prior to 1773.[15] Surely these archives are among the more important in the whole world for a history of North America, as the publication *Archivium Historicum Societatis Jesu* in almost every issue clearly attests.[16]

Besides these general archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, there are also the Provincial archives of the various Provinces of Europe. And again, as the early Jesuits came to America from Europe, we can and do find immense depositories in Paris (Province of France), Brussels (Province of Belgium), Turin (Province of Turin), and many others bearing on the history of North America.

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14 The Congrégation des Oblats Missionnaires de Marie-Immaculée was founded by Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod (1782–1861), Bishop of Marseilles, in early 1816 and approved by Pope Leo XII ten years later. As early as 1841, the Oblates began to spread to countries outside France, notably to Canada. In 1847 a band of five Oblates came overland with Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet to the then Diocese of Walla Walla, where they established missions among the Yakima Indians. Later these fathers moved to Vancouver Island and British Columbia, where this Congregation has many missions and parishes to this day. An important collection of printed sources, with very many of the documents therein pertaining to North America, is *Missions de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée,* Paris, 1862.

15 A recent and excellent witness to the fecundity of these *fonds* for the history of our continent will be found in Le Père René Latourelle, S.J., *Étude sur les écrits de Saint Jean de Brébeuf,* Montreal, 1952, (2 vols. to date).

16 This is published semi-annually by the Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu in Rome. Staffed by Jesuit scholars from all parts of the world, its principal work is to edit and exploit documents in the Jesuit archives, as the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu,* now numbering seventy-five volumes. A fundamental approach to the study of Jesuit missions during the second quarter of the nineteenth century is Joseph A. Otto, S.J., *Grundung der neuen Jesuitenmission durch General Pater Johann Philipp Roothaan,* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1939. Roothaan was General of the Society of Jesus from 1829 to 1853.

In the Belgian archives, for example, I came upon a block of material on Guatemala and in the Austrian archives, on Australia. In the Belgium archives, too, apart from the materials on Father De Smet, there is a large collection of letters of Father Ferdinand Helias d'Huddeghem[17] to his mother at Ghent, the Countess Helias d'Huddeghem. The latter defrayed the cost of building not less than twenty churches, I am sure, on the Missouri frontier between the half century from 1825 to 1875. What a contribution to the history of the frontier in south central North America a critical edition of these letters would make. In Paris, also, are the archives of the Association de la Sainte-Enfrance, The Holy Childhood,[18] to which the first vicar-apostolic, D'Herbomez,[19] and the first bishop of New Westminster, Durieu,[20] annually submitted a detailed report; and in the same city are the archives of the Société des Missions Etrangères[21] which was chiefly concerned with missions in the Far East. In Brussels, to my amazement and delight, in the archives

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17 August Lebrocquy, *La vie du Fondateur des Missions du Missouri central, Le R. P. Ferdinand Helias d'Huddegham,* Gand, 1878, though popular in intent, is a quite acceptable introduction to the history of rural missions. There was also an earlier edition of this in 1876 noted by Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. *The Jesuits in the Middle United States,* 3 vols., New York, 1938, III, 608.

18 This was founded by Charles August, Count of Forbin-Janson, Bishop of Nancy and Toul. One of its objects is to gather penny-a-month contributions to save from death abandoned children in pagan lands, especially China, and support them in orphanages where they were taught the Catholic religion and were baptized. Members of this Society on reaching the age of twenty-one became members of the Oeuvre Apostolique. The Society contributed millions of dollars toward the spread of Catholicism in pagan lands; see *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* VII, 399–400, *sub* "Holy Childhood."

19 Louis Joseph D'Herbomez, O.M.I., (1822–1890), born in the Diocese of Cambrai, was ordained in 1849 and arrived at Olympia, August 30, 1850. In 1857 he became the second superior of the Oblates in the Pacific Northwest, succeeding Father Pascual Ricard, founder of the Mission. Vicar-Apostolic of British Columbia in 1863, he was consecrated Bishop at Victoria October 9, 1864. Many of his letters appeared in *Missions... O. M. I.* A fine guide to the writings of the early Oblates in Marcel Bernard, *Bibliographie des Missionaires Oblats de Maria-Immaculée,* Liège, 1922.

20 Paul Durieu, O.M.I., born in Puy, arrived at Olympia in December, 1875. He evangelized the Yakima, Puget Sound, Vancouver Island, and British Columbia Indians. He became Coadjutor-Bishop to D'Herbomez in 1875, Vicar-Apostolic in 1890, and first Bishop of New Westminster in September, 1890. He died in 1890.

21 This group of secular priests, whose rule was approved by Alexander VII in 1663, was obliged to go to missions assigned to each in the Far East; there they are subject to the local bishop of vicar-apostolic. Their seminary in Paris has been for nearly three centuries a noted center of Catholic aspirants for the missions of the Far East; see Adrien Launoy, *Histoire générale de la Societe des Missions-Etrangères,* 3 vols., Paris, 1894; *Catholic Encyclopedia,* XIV, 79–81.

of l'Institut des Religieuses de l'Adoration perpetuelle et de l'Oeuvre des Eglises pauvres (Congregation of Perpetual Adoration),[22] I came upon reams and reams of materials on the missions of the Catholic Church, not only in North America but throughout the world.

Mention must also be made of various diocesan archives, such as those at Ghent where I found some materials on De Smet, and at s'Hertengobosch, in Holland, where I had like success with data on a companion of De Smet, Fr. Cornelius Smarius, a native of Tilburg in Holland, as were Frs. Christian and Adrian Hoecken, also companions of De Smet and missionaries to the Northwest. In the Stadt Archiv of Tilburg I was able to track down the vital statistics on these fathers, and in the Stadt Archiv in Turnhout, in Belgium, I met the same courteous assistance in securing some information about De Smet's benefactor, M. Pieter Jan De Nef.[23] Consular reports, which still await exploitation, will furnish much information about missions and missionaries; and such reports in the Haus-Hof-und-Staats-Archiv in Vienna and at the Ministère des Affaires étrangères in Brussels include many references of this kind, especially about their nationals. Occasionally, too, in these archives will be found appeals for aid made to royal personages, such as that of Father Sorin to the Emperor of Austria, Francis I. I must mention too the parish records, for in a small village in Belgium I found the vital facts about a number of De Smet's forebears. There, too, are family records, and Mde. Vve. Pierre De Smet, great-grandniece of Father De Smet by marriage, was most helpful to me and permitted me to photograph a mass of materials on her husband's distinguished great-great-uncle.

The Archivo General des Indias in Seville, the Public Record Office in London, and the Archives Nationales de France in Paris

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22 The essential information on this Congregation can be found in Anon., *Anna de Meeus: fondatrice de l'Institut des Religieuses de l'Adoration perpetuelle*, Bruxelles, 1942. Associated with these sisters are lay women (Confraternity of Perpetual Adoration), who contribute their skills and make financial contributions to *l'Oeuvre des Eglises pauvres* according to their means. Chalices, ciboriums and monstrances, as well as church vestments and altar furnishings, are supplied *gratis* to missionary bishops and priests all over the world by this Institute.

23 K. Schoeters, S.J., *P.-J. De Nef, 1774–1844: een Katholick-van-de-daad, een groot Vaderlander, een weldoener van Amerika*, Leuven, 1948. This work cries for a translator. Incidentally it supports the thesis of this paper, for in the bibliography, p. 285, one reads: "A. In Handschrift. I. Archief van de Vlaamse Jezuietenprovincie: . . .2) Fonds 'Amerikaanse Missie' inhoudende o. a. 23 brieven van en 95 aan De Nef."

not convinced that the researcher in such files gets always the best picture or even a true one. A noted student of diplomatic history, by way of analogy, commenting on the false concepts of foreign affairs frequently popularized in our text-books, states that this deficiency "is partly due to the time-honored practice of writing diplomatic history *solely* from official notes and dispatches."[24] Private archives, such as those written of above, are needed to bring the picture into focus.[25] Perhaps in no better way can the truthfulness of this statement be more fully demonstrated than by a visit in spirit to the archives of a great trading company, where I spent eight of the most fruitful months of my life: archives which are certainly among the most extensive and rich in the world. For the sake of greater clarity in my presentation of the records of the Hudson's Bay Company, I shall adopt the historical approach.

"The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into the Hudson's Bay," a Joint Stock Company, was chartered and given a monopoly of the trade in the Hudson Bay Basin on 2 May 1670, by his Majesty, King Charles II.[26] Since the drainage basin of Hudson Bay includes the headwaters of the Red River of the North, the Churchill, the York, the Winnipeg area and the Saskatchewan, the trading privileges of this Company extended southward to the north central States of the present United States and westward to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, in all a huge, entirely unexplored domain. Yet, undeterred by King and Parliament, who, indeed, were far removed from the scene of operations, are important and merit the attention that has been given them. Indeed, public and national archives are indispensable; but I am

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[24] Thomas A. Bailey, *America Faces Russia,* Ithaca, 1950, 42–43, (italics inserted).

[25] The 'Guide' par excellence to the various international publications on missions is Robert Streit, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca missionum,* Freiburg-im-*B.*-. (1916–), 10 vols. to date. This is truly a monumental work which does great credit to the industry and scholarship *des Pères de la Congrégation de Marie-Immaculée.* The second and third volumes "Amerikanische Missionsliteratur, 1493–1699," (1924), and "....., 1700–1809," (1927), at least should be in the library of every university which pretends to graduate work in colonial America, North, Central or South. Beginning with volume VI the title page includes the name of P. Johannes Dindinger, O. M. I., also, as Father Dindinger took over the work on the death of Father Streit.

[26] A copy of the royal charter is in E. E. Rich, ed., *The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society,* V, "Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671–1674," with and Introduction by Sir John Clapham, London, 1942, 131–148; this series, hereinafter cited as *H.B.S.*, was published jointly by the Record Society and the Champlain Society through volumes I–XII (1938–1949) and till now by the Hudson's Bay Record Society alone.

various pedlars,[27] including the Nor'Westers,[28] working from Montreal as a base, invaded the western parts of this area, and, by 1807 certainly, Simon Fraser,[29] David Thompson, the Northwest Company's astronomer, and Duncan McGillivray, adventurous partisans of the Canadian concern, had crossed the Rocky Mountains.[30] Meanwhile, at every post from the Lake Winnepeg region to the Rockies, a war *a outrance* was waged between the winterers of the rival companies, while competition for the furs gathered by the western tribes skyrocketed prices and threatened the financial structure of both contestants. Moreover, in 1813, as every schoolboy knows, the Northwest Company bought out the Astor interests west of the mountains,[31] established its principal entrepôt in that quarter at Fort George (Astoria) on the Columbia River, and prepared to exploit the lucrative fur market of China. Such contempt for the legal rights of the Honourable Company and the threat to the monopoly of the East India Company in the Far East, whither Northwest Company furs were soon carried in American

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27 A delightful little book on the pedlars is W. Stewart Wallace, *Pedlars from Quebec and other Papers on the Nor-Westers*, Toronto, 1954; see also Harold A. Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, New Haven, 1930.

28 *Publications of the Chaplain Society*, XXII, W. Stewart Wallace, ed., "Documents relating to the North West Company," Toronto, 1934, and Gordon C. Davidson, *The North West Company*, Berkeley, 1918.

29 Fort McLeod, the first trading post west of the mountains, on Lake McLeod was build by Simon Fraser in 1805. A good, brief account of this is in Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West*, London, 1939, 470. Oscar O. Winther, *The Old Oregon Country*, Stanford, 1950, 30–31, seems hardly acceptable on this point. This district, called by the Nor'Westers New Caladonia "because of the wildness of its scenery," continued to to be known after 1825 by the Hudson's Bay Company winterers, though it was incorporated into the Columbia department by George Simpson in that year.

30 There is much written about David Thompson and the time and place of his crossing the mountains. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 466–467, says that Thompson crossed the Rockies at Whitman's Pass in the late summer of 1801, and again in 1807, with his men, *Ibid.*, 481–483; Jocko Finlay in 1803 and Edward Ellice in 1804 also crossed. On this interesting subject, part of the great struggle to capture the fur trade; see the basic *The Publications of the Champlain Society*, XII, J. B. Tyrrell, ed., "David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in North America, 1784–1812," Toronto, 1916, which, however is seriously marred by the omission of Thompson's papers from 1799 to 1806; Arthur S. Morton, "The North West Company's Columbian Enterprise and David Thompson," *Canadian Historical Review*, XVII (1936), 267–288, and "Did Duncan McGillivray and David Thompson Cross the Rockies in 1801." in *Ibid.*, XVIII (1937), 156–162; J. B. Tyrrell, "David Thompson and the Columbia River," *Ibid.*, XVII (1937), 12–27; Frederick W. Howay, "David Thompson's Account of his First Attempt to Cross the Rockies," in *Queen's Quarterly*, XL (1933), 333–356.

31 Washington Irving, *Astoria: or, Anecdotes of an Adventure beyond the Rocky Mountains*, New York, 1850, Chapter LIX. Davidson, 137–139, is very confusing on this affair, especially as to dates.

bottoms,[32] could not be tolerated. Accordingly, on March 26, 1821, by an Agreement[33] between the Governor and Hudson's Bay Company and certain authorized agents of the North West Company, the former company absorbed its powerful rival and claimed thereby the right to exploit as well the area beyond the Rockies, which had hitherto been the preserve of the Nor'Westers. A subsequent Act of Parliament, "empowering the Crown to make grants for the exclusive right of trade with the Indians in territory not hitherto granted to the Hudson's Bay Company" in British North America, was passed three months later; and under the provisions of this Act the first Royal License,

> for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America to the northward and westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States of America as shall not form part of any of our provinces in North America, or any lands or territories belonging to the said United States of America, or to any European government, state or power; . . .[34]

was granted to the newly organized Hudson's Bay Company on December 5, 1821, by the Crown and renewed in May, 1838. Thus, the area of the Company's trade at the close of 1821, in which she enjoyed an absolute monopoly in respect to British subjects, extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, southward to the American and Mexican, and northward to the Russian, possessions. Furthermore, trapping parties both by land and by sea often visited areas claimed by these Powers.[35]

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[32] For a preliminary study of this development see Marion O'Neil, "The Maritime Activities of the North West Company," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1930), 243–267. Samuel E. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783–1860*, Boston and New York, 1922, though having a chapter on "China and the East Indies, 1820–1850," makes no mention of the trade in furs carried on by Boston firms through the North West Company.

[33] A copy of this 'Agreement' is in *H. B. S.*, II, 302–327, "Colin Robertson's correspondence book, September 1817 to September 1822," with an introduction by E. E. Rich; the Deed Poll allotting shares in the "new" company follows the Agreement, 327–344.

[34] 1 and 2 Geo. IV., c. 66. Imperial Statute, July 2, 1821; for the "territory not hitherto granted" see W. E. Ireland, "The Evolution of the Boundaries of British Columbia," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, III (1939), 268, and Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, 627–629. On the Royal License see E. O. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present*, 4 vols., Vancouver and Chicago, 1914, I, Appendix ix, 669–671, "Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies' Licenses of Exclusive Trade, 1821."

[35] *H. B. S.*, XIII, "Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824–1826," Introduction by Burt Brown Barker is best on this subject; here original materials are made available for a history of the fur trade in "No Man's Land" along the undetermined eastern boundary of the Old Oregon

With the above brief survey in mind one should not be surprised to learn that materials of historical interest about a very large part of North America have been gathering at Beaver House in London for nearly three hundred years. And while it is true that a few students of North American frontier history, notably Mr. Willson and Professor Bryce,[36] were permitted in the last decade of the past century to make a limited use of some of these records, even Company officials came to admit, when a third part of this century had run its course, that these gentlemen had "had to work from vast quantities of disorderly and unclassified material. The subject can be approached today" (January, 1935), a Company publication informs us, "by scholarly methods with more material readily available and a clearer view of the picture as a whole."[37] This improved state of affairs was immediately due to the great interest in Company history of Mr. Charles V. Sale, a very influential member of the Committee Board, and to the resolve of the Committee, no doubt at Mr. Sale's instance, to provide a commemorative volume "in connection with the celebration of its the Company's 250th anniversary on 2nd May, 1920."[38] Two and a half years later," at a meeting of the Governor (Sir Robert Molesworth Kindersley, G.B.E.), the Deputy Governor (Charles Vincent Sale), and the Committee held in London on 14th November, 1922," the writing of a comprehensive history of the Company was authorized, and the pen of Sir William Schooling[39] was engaged for the work. This history was to be completed on December 31, 1925. However, due to the mass of materials made available from

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Country when Americans were beginning to intrude. See also Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*, Indianapolis and New York, 1953, chapters 6 to 14 inclusive. A special study on California is Alice Bay Maloney, "Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura: John Work's California Expedition of 1832–1833 for the Hudson's Bay Company," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXII (1943), 193–222, 323–349, and XXIII (1944), 19–40, 123–146; these have been published as a brochure under the same title with an introduction by Herbert E. Bolton by the California Historical Society, San Francisco, 1945.

36 Beckles Willson, *The Great Company*, Toronto, 1899; George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, London, 1900.

37 Richard Henry Gresham Leveson Gower, *List of Books Relating to Hudson's Bay Company*, London, 1953, 2. This 13 page booklet does not list articles or manuscripts.

38 Sir William Schooling, K.B.E., *The Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1920*, London, 1920, 46–66.

39 Schooling (1860–1936) was an expert on insurance problems and a noted writer thereon. Besides preparing the commemorative volume on the Hudson's Bay Company, he also wrote a history, *Standard Life Assurance, 1825–1925* (1925). He was knighted in 1920.

Company archives, Sir William, in November, 1924, suggested that, as completion of the history by the stipulated date was quite impossible, the book should be entitled "Annals of the Hudson's Bay Company" and published as such. The Governor and Committee agreed, and in February, 1926, a work of some 180 pages was ready for the press. Proofs were run off by Oxford University Press and a copy thereof submitted to each member of the Committee; "but after consideration [by these gentlemen] it was decided that publication should be stopped and all arrangements were cancelled."[40]

Meanwhile, in June, 1925, Charles V. Sale had succeeded to the governorship of the Company; and, as this gentleman's interest in Company history was very keen, the idea of a comprehensive history of the Company was not permitted to die out. Governor Sale, moreover, had been extremely fortunate in securing as his agent in the organization of the Company archives the services of R. H. G. Leveson Gower,[41] the first professional custodian of the Company archives. New and separate quarters were provided for the archives, the staff was increased, "extracts from early minute books, post journals, correspondence books, etc.," were made to supply Sir William Schooling with materials for his "Annals." In 1927 the archives were moved to their present quarters in Bishopsgate, "where there was considerable more space available than had hitherto been provided."[42] Thus the great labors of Leveson Gower, aided by a corps of capable assistants, brought results as order began to emerge from the mass of materials which had astonished Schooling only a few years before. Not only material already in

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[40] Quotations in this paragraph are from a letter of Mr. R. A. Reynolds to the writer, London, 24 November, 1954. More properly, this paragraph is rather a paraphrase of that letter. Mr. Reynolds further informs the writer "that typewritten copies of the Annals from 1668–1870 . . . are on the shelves of the Archives Room and are made available to students." My use of the contents of this letter is made with the gracious permission of the Honorary Secretary.

[41] Leveson Gower (1894–), after a quarter of a century devoted to the organization of the vast accumulation of material in Company vaults, retired from the Company service to manage family properties after the death of his father in December, 1948. A man of great intellect and keen euthusiasm, he has left a description of his labors and methods in "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company," in *The Beaver*, Outfit 264, no. 3 (Dec. 1933), 40–42, 64; Outfit 265, no. 1 (June 1934), 19–21, 66, and no. 3 (Dec. 1934), 37–39.

[42] *Ibid.*, Outfit 264, 40. Hudson's Bay House at 68 Bishopsgate, mentioned by Gower, has since been sold by the Company; it is not to be confused with Beaver House, the Company headquarters, on Great Trinity Lane. The archives are still housed at 68 Bishopsgate, however.

storage was thus organized but fresh materials, gathered at Company posts from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were brought in and calendared. And these materials, old and new, included not only records of fur gathering and letters of gentlemen in the Company employ, but documents on shipping, land development, population movements, town sites, interior commerce, employee relationships, and the multitudinous affairs connected with a truly world-wide organization. Surely the importance of these materials to a more comprehensive understanding of the colonial history of North America —and great and continued progress in organization of materials and service facilities have been made in the past quarter century— can hardly be over-emphasized.

The labor on organization of the archives had progressed so far by the late 1920's that in June, 1928, Mr. Sale could announce the revival of the plan "to commence publication" of Company materials. But this plan envisioned not a comprehensive history of the Company but a much more ambitious program: the publication in a series of volumes of records, letters, minutes of council and journals critically edited and supported with an introduction and notes by a historian competent in the area covered by the documents in a given volume. Arrangements were accordingly entered into for the publication of such volumes "under the auspices of the Canadian History Society in the British Isles."[43]

At that meeting of the General Court at Beaver House Governor Sale said:

> We have, as you probably know, an immense collection of records relating to the earliest days of our history; to the wars and fighting; to the explorations by land and sea; to the customs and life of the Indians and Eskimo; to the struggle for the occupation of the Pacific Coast; to the peaceful retention of the Great West; and, finally, to the general conduct of the Company and its affairs during the two centuries in which it was responsible for the government of the territory of Rupert's Land.
>
> Until lately many of these documents were scattered throughout Canada, but now that we have space available in our new buildings, we have brought

[43] "At a General Court . . . , held on Tuesday, June 26, 1928. . ." Letter of Mr. R. A. Reynolds to writer, London, 13 September, 1954: Enclosure No. 1. Mr. Reynolds is of the opinion that the remark in Pinkerton, *op. cit.*, 316: "Governor Sale employed someone to write a comprehensive history of the organization," referred to this period. Sale, in his announcement at this time, said nothing, however, about the employment of a historian to write a comprehensive history of the Company. Pinkerton apparently has confused these plans with those of 1922, when, as we have seen, Sir William Schooling as so engaged.

them oversea and are engaged in classifying them, together with the store which had accumulated in London.[44]

In concluding his remarks the Governor said: "In undertaking this publication we shall not satisfy an oft-expressed desire, but shall also do justice to the memory of our predecessors in the Company."[45]

At this meeting of the General Court, Governor Sale did not set any date for the appearance of the first volume. The selection and arrangement of materials had progressed within the following two years to such a point, however, that by July, 1930, three volumes were actually ready for the press.[46] However, as the Great Depression, which shook the financial interests in the previous autumn, gained world-wide momentum and tightened people's purses everywhere, it was reluctantly decided in February, 1931, to suspend existing arrangements. Later in the same year it was further decided to put off publication until the return of more prosperous times, when the success of the venture would be more assured.[47]

Meanwhile, however, another excellent reference-work was given to the public under Company auspices, *Charters, Statutes and Orders in Council &c relating to the Hudson's Bay Company,*[48] the work of Herbert Dunk and Miss Kathleen Pincott. Three years later a booklet,[49] beautifully illustrated and prefaced with a list of the Governors of the Company, was compiled by Leveson Gower *et aliis.* Early in 1935, as commercial affairs showed signs of reverting to normal, the decision was taken by the Governor and Committee to implement former-Governor Sale's plan of a series of Company publications of its records.[50] In the following year it was decided

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[44] *Ibid.* Quoted with permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, as are further quotes from Company archives, which were secured through the courtesy of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. A. Reynolds. The new buildings are those referred to by Mr. R. H. G. Leveson Gower—Hudson's Bay House in Bishopsgate and Beaver House on Great Trinity Lane.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] These volumes were: "George Simpson's *Athabasca Journal,* Peter Skene Ogden's *Snake Country Journal,* and Samuel Black's (Finlay River Journal),..." The first two have since been published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society, and the third will appear in 1955, as I have been informed by Mr. Reynolds in his letter September 13, 1954.

[47] Mr. R. A. Reynolds to writer, London, September 13, 1954.

[48] (London: Hudson's Bay Company, 1931). By this date Miss Alice M. Johnson, the present archivist and assistant editor of *H. B. S.,* "was a junior member of the Archives Department."

[49] *Hudson's Bay Company: a brief history,* London: Hudson's Bay House, 1934, pp. x, 68. The compilers, besides Leveson Gower, were Arthur S. Morton, Douglas MacKay, and J. Chadwick Brooks, then Secretary of the Company.

[50] By the present Governor, Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper, who succeeded Governor Sale (1925–1931) in 1931.

that publication should be under the aegis of The Champlain Society of Canada.[51] The further "decision to form the Hudson's Bay Record Society was taken on July 27, 1937, at a meeting of the General Court on that day, and the December, 1937, issue of *The Beaver*[52] carried an announcement of its forthcoming inauguration."[53]

In the same number of *The Beaver,* in his "Christmas Message" to Company shareholders and personnel, the Governor includes these significant reflections:

> As you all know, the Company has now recovered its position and is showing welcome profits. This then is perhaps the moment to remind ourselves that the making of profits should not be the sole concern or objective of a great organization like ours.
>
> We have an obligation—not to be disregarded—to ourselves and to our neighbors, to set an outstanding example of high principles and fine ideals, both of which are needed in the world today.[54]

These are significant words, indeed, which do great credit to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

As indicative of current interest in frontier history, the same issue of *The Beaver,* under the caption "London Office News,"[55] informs us that

> . . . in the Archives Department Mr. Leveson-Gore and his staff have been kept busy looking after a number of overseas visitors:
>
> Professor Marcel Giraud, of L'Institut Français, is still a regular visitor in connection with his study of the history of half-breeds in the western

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51 Letter of Mr. Reynolds cited above. See also *The Beaver,* "Outfit 268," no. 4 (March, 1938), 2.

52 *The Beaver: a magazine of the North* (1920–) is published quarterly at Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, at the office of the Canadian Committee. While this publication is popular in contents and format, it has some solid articles. References to sources, when they are quoted, are maddeningly omitted. The term "Outfit" is presently used for each volume; formerly it was used for each number of a volume. Thus, "Outfit 285," includes the issues from June, 1954, to March, 1955, currently termed "Summer," "Autumn," "Winter," and "Spring." During its first four years *The Beaver* was published monthly; while the first number to appear in the present format was "Outfit 264," no. 2 (September, 1933). On the use of the term "Outfit" see *ibid.,* 7: "Since the incorporation of the Company in 1670, the word "outfit" has meant one trading year."

53 Letter of Mr. Reynolds. The passage referred to in *The Beaver* reads: "Classification of the Company's unique records in London has been in progress some years with view to publication. The Company announces that for this purpose the Hudson's Bay Record Society will shortly be inaugurated. The subject of the first volume to be published in 1938 is George Simpson's Athabasca Journal and Report, 1820–1821." *Ibid.,* "Outfit 268," no. 3 (December, 1937), 5.

54 *Ibid.,* 2.

55 *Ibid.,* 60.

provinces of Canada.[56] Professor Arthur S. Morton, of the University of Saskatchewan, continued his investigations on the study of Western Canada[57] until he sailed for Canada in September.

Professor Walter N. Sage, of the University of British Columbia, and his son, Donald Sage, came to study material relative to the early history of the Fur Trade Posts in British Columbia. D. G. G. Kerr, who is preparing a biography of Sir Edmund Walker Head, a former Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, returned for a short period in July.[58]

Willard E. Ireland, M.A., of the University of Toronto, has been a regular attendant of the Company's Archives since 26th July, and is engaged in the preparation of a dissertation on "American Influences on the Hudson's Bay Company prior to Confederation."[59] Dr. Julius E. Lips, a former director of the Ethnological Museum of Cologne and lately of the Anthropological Department of Columbia University, U. S. A., visited the Company's Archives regularly to study the customary law of the Canadian Indians.[60]

The same 'News' notices the acquisition from former Governor Sale of Simpson's manuscript of his voyage from London to Fort Nisqually in 1841,[61] on his celebrated journey round the world.

The following number of *The Beaver* carried a full page Announcement on the creation of the Hudson's Bay Record Society and, after naming the Directors of the new organization, set forth its objectives in these words:

The purpose of the Society is to publish material of outstanding historical interest from the Company's Archives. Mr. E. E. Rich, M. A., F. R. Hist. Soc., Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in History in the University of Cambridge, England, has been appointed General Editor, and the first volume of the series (Sir George Simpson's

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56 The study was: Marcel Girard, "Le Metis canadian, son role dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest," *Travaux at memoires de l'Institut d'ethnologie*, XLIV, Paris, 1945.

57 See notes 29 and 30 above for some fruit of Morton's labors.

58 The work then in preparation and since published is: D. D. G. Kerr, *Sir Edmund Head: A Scholarly Governor*, Toronto, 1955. Head was Governor of the Company 1863–1868.

59 The title of Ireland's work is: "British Columbia and British American union." As he had been granted his degree by the University of Toronto in the spring of 1935, *The Beaver* was in error in the above notice, according to the letter of Mr. Ireland to the writer from Victoria November 8, 1954. Ireland is presently Librarian-Archivist of the Provincial Library, Victoria, B. C.

60 Julius E. Lips, "Naskapi Law," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n. s., XXXVII, Pt. 4, Philadelphia, 1947, is the work Dr. Lips was most probably engaged in, as it is a treatment of law and order in a hunting society among the Lake St. John and Lake Mistassini bands of Indians.

61 This manuscript was not written by Simpson, nor was the book *A Narrative of a Journey round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842*, 2 vols., London, 1847, based on the manuscript authored by Sir George. This interesting question will be critically treated in due time by Professor John S. Galbraith of the University of California at Los Angeles.

Athabasca Journal and Report, 1820–21) will be issued about October, 1938. Other volumes will follow annually.[62]

This Announcement also informs us that the volumes of the Society will be published likewise by "the Champlain Society of Canada, whose members will receive the Hudson's Bay volumes." Applications for membership in the new series, however, were to be received directly at the offices of the Society in London and Winnipeg. The closing sentence of this notice reads: "The volumes published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society will not be available for sale to non-members."

And so at long last the ground carefully and devotedly prepared by Messrs. Sale and Leveson Gower to receive their fertile ideas for a representative history of the Company, is about to bring forth a far more abundant crop of historical works than even they anticipated. For the series of volumes which began to appear in 1938, bringing "material of outstanding historical interest from the Company's Archives" to the closets of scholars the world over, certainly does credit to their enterprise and justifies their vision. Of that storehouse from which these volumes are compiled and of Company practise in their production, I can write only superficially and instance a few examples of its richness. But by setting before my readers these tasty *hors d'oeuvres,* I trust that some among them may experience a keen appetite for the feast that awaits the professional, accredited, and diligent worker in those archives.

Speaking very generally, the Company archives may be divided into the following categories: "Letters Outward," "Letters Inward," and "General Correspondence."[63] The executive body at all times was (and is) the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and the Committee in London. Letters from these gentlemen, usually to the Governor-in-Chief in Canada, constitute the first group of records. To these may be added official records of Committee meetings, minutes, letters of the Secretary of the Company and of members of the Committee, correspondence with Parliamentary Committees, the British Foreign Office, the British Minister to Washington, and the director of the Russian-American Company.[64] The executive

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62 *The Beaver*, "Outfit 268," no. 4 (March, 1938), 2.

63 For a reference to a more detailed treatment on the archives of the Company, see note 41, *supra.* The first of the three excellent papers on this subject cited there, has been reproduced in part in the *Canadian Historical Review*, XV (1934), 92–94.

64 A selection of such correspondence will be found in Otto Julius Klotz, (ed.), *Certain correspondence of the Foreign Office & the Hudson's Bay Company*, Ottawa, 1899.

in the field was the Governor-in-Chief in Canada[65] (George Simpson, from 1822 to 1860), and his letters and reports to the Governor and Committee in London form the second class of holdings. To these may be added letters of Simpson to the various officers and agents in the posts of the Company from York Factory on Hudson Bay to Honolulu in mid-Pacific Ocean, Minutes of the Northern and Southern Councils, usually presided over by the Governor-in-Chief, letters of the deputy of the Governor-in-Chief and of the *"Visitadoros-general,"* Nicholas Garry, John Halkett, and Eden Colvile. Such then are "Letters Outward" and "Letters Inward" in the Company Archives.

To the third class belong letters and reports from Chief Factors and Chief Traders, managers of districts and of more important posts, to the Governor and Committee and to the Governor-in-Chief. To these records must be added post journals, travel journals, account books, and other materials such as wills, instructions for education of children and investment of funds, familiar letters between gentlemen in the field, and reports of one kind and another concerning the fur trade in northern North America and much else: the market in lumber, hides, sheep, cattle, horses, agricultural products; business prospects in Russian-America, California, China and the Hawaiian Islands; the disposition of the Oregon Country, the American trappers in the Green River region, the removal of the principal depot on the west coast to, and the founding of Fort Victoria, the Treaty of Washington (1846), the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and much material of vital importance to our understanding of our North American continental history. There is also a great deal of material on Lee's mission, on the Whitmans, and on the refusal of the Company, with direful results to their best interests, to permit Catholic missionaries to come to the Lower Columbia in 1834—subjects for the historians of missionary expansion in North America. And Hawaii! What historian of our relations with that island group in the North Pacific has placed under contribution to his study the sources in the storehouse awaiting him

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[65] Actually, Simpson's official title, granted him in 1839, was "Governor-in-Chief in Rupert Land;" *H. B. S.*, III (1941), p. lx, *note*. In 1841 in anticipation of his journey round the world and to give him greater prestige in dealing with Russian officialdom, he was knighted by Queen Victoria. A general account of the Anglo-Russian fur-trade agreement of 1839, is Donald C. Davidson, "Relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast, 1829–1867," in *British Columbia Historical Review*, V (1941), 33–51.

at the Company archives in London?[66] There he can view a different picture of those transformed ministers of the Gospel turned sugar planters and pineapple vendors, whom American writers, working in American archives, term apostles to the natives. Never did these gentry deceive so wary an observer of their real purpose in those islands as Sir John Henry Pelly, Bart, Governor of the Company from 1822 to 1852.

As my paper has already stretched to a considerable length, I do not feel that I should add many particular references, illustrative of my central theme, although this could be easily done. The coastal trade, which no historian has treated with any degree of adequacy, alone will require volumes to exhaust the fecundity of these archives; and the papers of James Douglas,[67] when edited, will assuredly prove richer and more illuminating than those of Dr. John McLoughlin.[68] The general references I have given will, I trust, lead some modern practitioners of Clio's art to drink deeply at these fountains. Before concluding my paper I should, however, recall a report nearly half a century ago by a leading historian of that day—a report whose admonitions yet await implementation.

In his first annual report, for the year ending October 31, 1906, "as director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington," Dr. J. Franklin Jameson manifested an awareness of the possibilities of the archives of Protestant and Catholic organizations and societies for the study of American history. He then wrote:

> To meet and to stimulate increased interest in the religious history of America, an interest felt not only by workers in church history but by the most intelligent students of the history of American civilization, it was resolved that an attempt should be made to furnish a methodical guide or inventory to the large but scattered mass of unprinted historical material preserved in the archives of the various religious bodies and missionary

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[66] Two of the most respected historians of these islands, Harold W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii: The Pioneers, 1789–1843*, Stanford University Press, 1942, and Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1854*, 2 vols., Honolulu, 1938, 1953, do not list the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company among their sources but have passing references to the Company's agency established in Honolulu in 1834.

[67] A good beginning for an edition of Douglas' papers has recently been made by W. Kaye Lamb, "Some Notes on the Douglas Family," in *The British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XVII (1953), 41–51.

[68] See *H. B. S.* IV (1941), VI (1943), VII (1944): "The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, 1825–38, 1839–44, 1844–46," with an Introduction by W. Kaye Lamb, Ph.D.

societies, and in the libraries of theological seminaries and denominational colleges.[69]

Dr. Jameson also stated that "The Protestant portion was first taken up," and that "Prof. William H. Allison . . . was chosen as the fittest person to conduct such an inquiry."[70] He further stated that Miss Frances G. Davenport had been commissioned to follow up the researches of Dr. Charles M. Andrews in England and to compile a guide to American materials in "the archives of the House of Lords . . . , of Lambeth Palace, of Fulham Palace, of the Society for the Progagation of the Gospel," and of several other depositories.[71] Dr. Jameson himself had been in Europe from April to July, 1906, to inspect archives there and to secure from their custodians "suggestions for the future conduct of our operations." Among the notable scholars in Rome who received him graciously were their Eminences Raphael Cardinal Merry del Val, papal Secretary of State, Jerome Mary Cardinal Gotti, O.C.D., prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, Father Francis (later Cardinal) Ehrle, S.J., prefect of the Vatican Library, Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., and Father Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M.[72] And he concluded the account of his visit to the papal court with this remark: "I feel confident that, when the proper time arrives, unusual facilities will be afforded for whatever researches we may undertake."[73] Dr. Jameson also called attention to the fact that "various nations have established [historical institutes at Rome] since the opening of the Vatican Archives by the late Pope"[74] (Leo XIII), and that these

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[69] *Year Book No. 5*, Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1906, 193–194.

[70] William H. Allison, *Inventory of unpublished material for American religious history in Protestant church archives and other repositories*, Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1910.

[71] Charles M. Andrews, and Frances G. Davenport, *Guide to manuscript materials for the history of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in minor London archives, and in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*, Washington: the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1908. Dr. Andrews' previous researches resulted in his *Guide to the materials for American history, to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain*: I. *The State papers;* II. *Departmental and miscellaneous papers*, Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1912, 1914.

[72] The dignitaries whom Dr. Jameson waited upon are sufficiently described by the mention of their offices. Fathers Hughes (1849–1939) and Lemmens (1864–1929) were connected with the Jesuit and Franciscan archives, respectively, in Rome. The former was the author of the *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, New York, 1907–1917, 3 vols. in 4, and the latter, *Hierarchia latina Orientis, 1622–1922, mediante S(acra) Congr(egatione) de propaganda fide instituta*, Roma, 1923–1924, 2 vols., and *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen*, Munster, 1929.

[73] *Year Book 5*, 199.

[74] In a letter, "Saepenumero considerantes," August 18, 1883, to Joseph (later Cardinal) Hergenroether, Prefect of the Vatican Library,

institutes "bear some such relation to those archives as that which this department aims to sustain towards the archives in Washington." It shall not be amiss here, I trust, to call the attention of my readers to "The Knights of Columbus Foundation" at St. Louis University: a collection of "more than 3,000 microfilm copies of the 60,000 codices in the manuscript collection of the Vatican Library."[75] These records are available for consultation by competent and sincere scholars. Thus Dr. Jameson's confidence in responsible Church officials in Rome has been amply vindicated.

Eighteen years earlier than the appearance of Dr. Jameson's report, in the presidential address at Washington, D. C., on 26 December, 1888, before the members of the American Historical Association, Dr. William F. Poole said:

> The leading purpose of the historical student of our time is to ascertain what is the truth, and, having found it, to express it clearly, concisely, and fearlessly. Following his inquiries back to original sources, he is often amazed that so much of what has passed current as history and been copied from one writer to another, is erroneous.[76]

And in his own day Dr. Jameson was equally insistent with his colleagues at the Carnegie Institution in going back to original sources. "For us, at any rate *melius est petere fontes quam sectari rivulos*"[77] (it is better to seek out sources than to follow down streams). But much remains to be done in our times, as I trust this paper has demonstrated, to implement further the programs of these truly able and farsighted scholars. The spirit of adventure and of enthusiasm required for the discovery and fashioning of new materials, is just as urgent for us as it was for those of past generations of American historical scholarship. American history, as Poole and Jameson saw clearly, cannot be written adequately from American archives solely. Much yet remains to be done.

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Pope Leo XIII announced to the learned world the opening of the Vatican Library and Archives. Terming history "the tutoress of life... the light of truth," the Pontiff stated the rules for writing history: "the first law of the historian is do not dare to say anything false; then dare to say the truth; neither let there be suspicion of partiality in writing, nor dissimulation...." *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, XVI, Roma, 1883, 49–57.

[75] *The American Archivist*, XVII (1954), 384. The Foundation publishes a journal, *Manuscripta*, of which the first number appeared in April, 1954.

[76] American Historical Association, *Papers*, III (1889), William F. Poole, "The Early Northwest," 34.

[77] *Year Book No. 5*, 186.

Mississippi State Aid for Indigent Soldiers, 1861-1865

Historians have long noted the economic weaknesses of the Confederate states as compared with those of the North. From the very beginning of the war the southern economy seemed to become increasingly stagnant. In whole areas of the Confederacy there was actually privation and an economic decline which often bore no relationship whatsoever to the proximity of the Union army. These economic deficiencies unquestionably were one of the principal reasons for its collapse.

At no point is this economic stagnation more apparent than in the problem of how to care for the families of soldiers.[1] The southern government was burdened from the start with this additional problem. In each of the states it demanded a solution, and a considerable amount of legislation and organized effort was devoted to this purpose. Although it was a problem of nation-wide magnitude, the Confederate government was inclined to regard it as one entirely in the province of state concern, and at first the states were equally willing to consider it a local matter.

There were invariably two factors which forced the states to take action concerning this problem. In the first place, the scarcity of goods and rising prices brought forth loud complaints from many people but especially from the women whose husbands were in service. According to *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia* the depreciation of the currency was so serious that the states were forced to provide for the families of soldiers in order to "prevent local disturbances."[2] In the second place, the ever increasing problem of desertion could be attributed to the depressing economic situation. Soldiers left their units in order to aid their families at home. The states tried to save the lives of non-combatants and at the same time to raise morale both at the front and at home.[3]

Charles Ramsdell pointed out that when considering how this problem was handled it was permissible to make some general ob-

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1 Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Plain People of the Confederacy*, Baton Rouge, 1944. The general situation among the people of the Confederacy may be conveniently surveyed in this short work.

2 *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia for 1863*, New York, 1864, 18.

3 Edwin B. Coddington, "A Social and Economic History of the Seaboard States of the Southern Confederacy," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Clark University, 1939, 107.

servations.[4] At first it was regarded as a local matter, but when it grew too extensive state intervention became necessary. A second trend was to give at first monetary relief to these families, but as the currency system collapsed this was replaced by a system of relief in kind. Clothing, food, and other necessities were laboriously distributed. As home morale became more demoralized by the end of the war, it became necessary to resort to impressments and requisitions in order to obtain the needed provisions.

A thorough study of the care of the indigent families of soldiers is necessary if we are to acquire a better understanding of the economic problems confronting the Confederacy. Many questions must be answered. How much money was actually available for this purpose, and how many people were receiving aid? How much goods was distributed? What local taxes were levied to supply funds, and how successful were county agents and officials in collecting them? How many persons were diverted from other duties in order to meet the problems of collection and distribution?

In this article an attempt has been made to describe briefly the various methods instituted in Mississippi for the collection and distribution of goods and money for indigent families of soldiers. It is not a complete study for it does not treat with local efforts to solve the problem. The scope and administration of the system instituted by the state legislature has been examined, and an effort has been made to note similarities and differences between Mississippi's system and those established elsewhere.

The legislature of Mississippi first took cognizance of the problem in August 1861. At that time a law was passed empowering the boards of police to levy a tax upon taxable property of the county not to exceed 100% of the state tax of 1859. The money collected by the sheriff was to be paid into a special fund called the "Military Relief Fund," and it was to be used partially to assist in furnishing outfits, equipment, clothing, and supplies to volunteers as well as to take care of their needy dependents.[5]

This law was eventually superseded in December of the same year, and a more comprehensive system of relief was inaugurated. A special tax of 30% was levied upon the regular state taxes of the fiscal year for the support of destitute families of volunteers. This money was also to be paid into the military relief fund.

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[4] Charles Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy*, Baton Rouge, 1944, 62–68.

[5] *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Called Session, July, 1861*, c. iii., August 2, 1861.

The various boards of police were instructed to ascertain the names of all volunteers who had been in service at least six months. Before March 1, 1862, a list of such names was to be sent by the clerk of the board to the auditor of public accounts. He was in turn to make a pro-rata distribution of the money collected among the various counties in accordance with the number of volunteers furnished by each of them. The various boards of police were then instructed to issue warrants on the county treasurers for the money needed. The total expenditure was not to exceed the amount to which said county was entitled. This money could be used to purchase supplies or other indispensible articles needed by the families of soldiers.

The boards of police were further instructed to select one or more persons in each district to serve as commissioners. Their duty was to ascertain and to report to the board the names of all volunteers from each county and to investigate and to determine those persons entitled to aid under the act. These commissioners were also to procure all needful supplies and to make distribution among those in want.

The local taxes levied under the provisions of the Act of August 2 were to be revoked except in cases where boards of police had already issued warrants in anticipation of tax receipts.[6]

Before the first year of the war had elapsed the legislature was forced to admit that the problem of supplying aid to indigent families was beyond the resources of local taxation. In order to make a more equitable distribution both of taxes and revenues a statewide system was inaugurated.

On December 4, 1861, the legislature also enacted another law empowering the board of police in Jones county to use the funds arising from fines, forfeitures, amercements, the sale of licenses, and the money which arose from the sale of estrays and runaway slaves not claimed within the legal time. This additional money was to be used to relieve the families of volunteers in Jones county.[7]

No further laws concerning the problem of indigent families of soldiers were enacted by the legislature until January 1, 1863. The legislature was at that time forced to begin the practice of making regular financial grants to supplement the money being collected by tax levies, and to take steps to insure that soldiers' families would

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[6] *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Regular Session, 1861–1862*, c. xi., December 16, 1861.

[7] *Ibid.*, c. lxv., December 4, 1861.

be supplied with basic necessities. $500,000 was appropriated for the purchase of salt. This salt was to be distributed at certain designated points at cost to all persons in need, but the preference was given to families of soldiers.[8]

At the same time an additional $500,000 was appropriated by an act of January 3. The boards of police were instructed to ascertain the names of all men then in service from their respective counties. The roll, prepared by the clerk of the board, was then to be sent to the auditor of public accounts by March 1, 1863. On the basis of this list (or of the list prepared under the act of December 16, 1861) the auditor was to make an allotment from this fund to each county in proportion to the number of names on the list. This money was to be paid to the county treasurer and was to be distributed by the boards of police to aid and relieve the destitute families of men actually in service or of those who had been killed or disabled in battle. Again the commissioners appointed by the boards were to investigate and to determine the proper beneficiaries under this act, and they were to purchase and distribute supplies to them.

The act further increased the special tax from 30% to 50% and permitted the boards of police to continue collecting taxes under the act of August 2, 1861, in accordance with the conditions outlined in the act of December 16.[9]

Five new acts were passed during the regular session of the legislature in November 1863 which provided various measures of relief for the indigent families of soldiers, and which introduced some changes in the system of aid then in operation. The commissioners who had been appointed by the boards of police to investigate beneficiaries and to purchase supplies were declared to be draft exempt.[10] The boards of police of Noxubee, Winston, and Choctaw counties were authorized to raise additional funds for relief purposes by borrowing money from the trustees of school lands; this money was to be repaid with interest.[11] A third act set up a more comprehensive system for seeing that the needy families of soldiers received their proper share of salt at cost.[12] A fourth act appropriated the sum of $100,000 which was to be used for the purchase of cotton and

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[8] *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Called Session, 1862,* c. xiii., January 1, 1863.

[9] *Ibid.,* c. ii., January 3, 1863.

[10] *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Regular Session, November, 1863,* c. i., December 9, 1863.

[11] *Ibid.,* c. lxxxi., December 9, 1863.

[12] *Ibid.,* c. xlv., December 7, 1863.

wool cards. These were to be distributed gratis among the indigent families of soldiers (one pair per family); those soldiers' families not in need were to be supplied cards at cost plus ten percent.[13] Several counties had not yet received the entire appropriation to which each was entitled under the existing system of distribution. A fifth act provided for the distribution of funds to ten counties sufficient enough to give each of them the share to which it was entitled under the acts of December 1861 and January 1863.[14]

The most significant law passed during this session was one which made some changes in the system of relief which had been created in the legislation of 1861–1862. The act of January 3, 1863, was repealed. The new law authorized the boards of police to appoint one person who was to act as commissioner in each district.[15] This person was to ascertain the names of the soldiers in each district and the number of persons dependent upon each of them. These dependents could be the wife, children, or relatives of the soldiers, and they had to be dependent upon him for support before entering service. The names of disabled, indigent soldiers were also to be reported to the boards of police. All the names were to be entered on a roll and forwarded to the auditor of public accounts before March 1, 1864.

The sum of $500,000 was appropriated out of the treasury for distribution under this act; one half was to be disbursed immediately on the basis of the earlier lists and the remainder was to be distributed when the new lists had been prepared. This money was to be paid to the county treasurer who in turn would disburse it to the commissioners in the various districts for the purchase of supplies.

In order to avoid the fraud and mismanagement which previously had been associated with the administration of the system, the act provided that the boards of police were to meet each month for the purpose of checking the activities of the commissioners. In order to make certain that the boards and the commissioners did their duty special penalties were assessed against all officials who shirked their responsibilities under the various acts.

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13 *Ibid.*, c. xxvii., December 9, 1863.

14 *Ibid.*, c. xxiv., December 9, 1863. The counties were: Winston, $4,830.89; Pontotoc, $14,536.59; Monroe, $2,345.17; Itawamba, $7,922.07; Lafayette, $8,862.50; Harrison, $2,758.00; Adams, $6,710.50; Coahoma, $4,043.76; Calhoun, $6,526.00; Simpson, $3,451.89.

15 The earlier act had provided for the appointment of one or more commissioners in each district, but since these men were given draft exemption it probably was felt desirable to keep the number down.

The new law further raised the special tax which could be levied upon the regular state tax of the fiscal year from 50% to 150%. The money collected was paid into the military relief fund and distributed the same way as the half million appropriation.

Because of the fact that the state's currency system was deteriorating so rapidly and because of the fact that the commissioners were having trouble purchasing supplies, the boards of police were authorized by this act to receive part of the taxes in kind. They were given power to determine the percentage of the tax which would be received in this form.

Since the provision for a state aid tax and the appropriations from the state treasury were inadequate to supply provisions for the needy, the law further authorized the boards of police to lay at their discretion a special county tax upon all taxable property to an amount not to exceed 100% upon the state taxes of the current fiscal year. In the counties at Tallahatchie, Jackson, Hinds, Rankin, Scott, Wilkinson, Newton, Calhoun, Leake, and Kemper the boards were authorized to levy a tax not to exceed 300%. The funds accruing from these special taxes were to be used to aid indigent families of soldiers. These special taxes could also be paid partially in kind.

Each board of police was also empowered to borrow on the credit of the county sums not exceeding $20,000 in any one year; county warrants or bonds bearing eight percent interest could be given for the purpose of raising such funds. An additional appropriation of $85,000 was made to supply aid to the needy in Tippah, Tishomingo, Hancock, Harrison, and Jackson counties.[16]

The system for distributing aid to the needy families of soldiers in Mississippi was completed after the enactment of these laws. During the remainder of the war no new system was initiated, and there were few significant modifications made. However, the legislation which was passed in 1864 clearly indicated that despite state appropriations, state taxes, county taxes, and county borrowing the need for supplies became more acute as the war drew nearer.

The law of December 2, 1863, had provided for the immediate distribution of at least one half of the pro-rata share due each county, but so great was the immediate need for funds that another law

16 *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Regular Session, November, 1863,* c. viii., December 2, 1863.

was passed authorizing the auditor to make distribution of at least 75% of the share in cases of urgent need.[17]

The presence of northern troops made the application of relief legislation particularly difficult. Two acts passed in March clearly show how the administrative routine of the state was hampered by the war. The first act granted the clerks of the boards of police an extension of time until June 1 to get their reports to the auditor's office. These reports had been due March 1.[18] The second act authorized the boards of police to make allowances to the county treasurers for necessary expenses which might be incurred in moving the military relief fund to a place of safety in the event of danger.[19]

Several acts passed during the following month give additional evidence of the disturbed state of affairs in Mississippi. An act provided that if any county lost its quota of salt because of enemy action, it was to be replaced gratis by the salt agent.[20] An additional $5,000 was appropriated to reimburse the losses sustained by the citizens of Attala county who had bought salt for aiding needy families of soldiers only to have it seized by the enemy.[21]

The declining efficiency of the state transportation system forced the legislature to give the commissioners power to impress wagons, teams, boats, skiffs, other water craft, and carts in order to promote the discharge of their duties.[22]

The called session of August 1864 of the state legislature found an even more depressing situation. Several laws passed during this session gave the counties permission to raise additional funds for aid. During the called session of March the board of Copiah county had been authorized to use money in the common school fund, but during the August session it was further empowered to sell the property belonging to the poor fund of the county for the purpose of raising more money for supplies. This money was to be repaid at a suitable interest rate agreed upon by the county treasurer and the board.[23] The board of police of Calhoun county was authorized to borrow from the school fund, while the boards of Lauderdale,

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17 *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Called Session, March, 1864,* c. ix., April 5, 1864.

18 *Ibid.,* c. xxx., March 31, 1864. Yazoo county was later given until October 1 to make its report.

19 *Ibid.,* c. xxxii., March 31, 1864.

20 *Ibid.,* c. iv., April 5, 1864.

21 *Ibid.,* c. lviii., April 2, 1864.

22 *Ibid.,* c. xxiii., April 4, 1864.

23 *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Called Session, August, 1864,* c. xxxix., August 12, 1864; *Called Session, March, 1864,* c. liv., April 5, 1864.

Newton, and Harrison counties were permitted to borrow up to 100% of the money then on hand in the swamp fund and overflowed lands funds.[24] Every county was permitted to convert the certificates or bonds of the Confederate states which each held on account of the military relief fund into money and to distribute it among the destitute families of soldiers.[25]

On August 13 the legislature passed the last law providing for the care of the destitute people in Mississippi. At that time a sum of $1,000,000 was appropriated to be distributed among the counties in the manner which had been established. An additional $100,000 was also appropriated by the same act to supply the deficiency caused by the discount of the confederate treasury notes which belonged to the military relief fund and which had been recently ordered converted into money for distribution.

The commissioners who had been authorized to impress various conveyances were given broader powers under this act. They could now, with the help of the sheriffs, impress various conveyances in neighboring counties if they needed additional transport.[26] So serious had the internal situation in Mississippi become that further assistance to the needy families had become almost impossible.

Despite the gloomy nature of the situation the indomitable spirit of the people of Mississippi could be seen in a joint resolution adopted the same day this final act was passed. This resolution proclaimed that it was the duty of the state to make provision for the education of the children of men who fell in action or who had been disabled. The governor was requested to appoint a committee of twenty persons who were to receive donations for a special fund for this purpose.[27]

The legislature appropriated $2,185,000 for direct aid, $505,000 for the purchase of salt, and $100,000 for cotton and wool cards; a total of $2,790,000. In addition to this the counties were given the right to collect special levies, the state voted a special tax levy for the military relief fund, and the counties were authorized to borrow from additional sources. Before the war ended the transportation system had become so bad that the commissioners were given power to impress conveyance. All this, however, was not enough to relieve the plight of the poor.

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[24] *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Called Session, August, 1864*, c. xli., August 10, 1864; c. xlvii., August 12, 1864.
[25] *Ibid.*, c. vi., August 10, 1864.
[26] *Ibid.*, c. xxvii., August 13, 1864.
[27] *Ibid.*, c. lxii., August 13, 1864.

The real source of the trouble probably was the fact that there was just not enough goods to go around. Large quantities of the available supplies were taken by the Confederate agents collecting the tax in kind.[28] There was not enough to meet both the national and state needs, and the agents of the former government took the disproportionate share. When more money was appropriated by the legislature or when the taxes were raised it merely made the problem more acute. Goods fell into the hands of speculators, and some states were forced ultimately to resort to impressment and requisitions. Mississippi did not find it necessary to impress goods.

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[28] The tax in kind is described in John Schwab, *The Confederate States of America*, New York, 1904, 292–293, 298–299, 301–302.

Town Business in the Alabama Black Belt, 1875-1917

The economy of the Deep South, between the end of Reconstruction and World War I, rested on cotton. Most of the people in that section earned their living by cotton farming, selling supplies to the farmers, or trading in cotton. For this reason many small towns developed as cotton trading centers, which were of greater economic importance than their populations or appearances might indicate.

A study of a typical Deep South plantation area reveals the business life of the trading centers. Such an area was the Black Belt of Alabama, a section in the southern part of the state. The Black Belt derives its name from a crescent-shaped area of black prairie soil with a lime base that extends from near the eastern border of the state westward into Mississippi. It runs through the following counties, which are generally considered Black Belt counties: Bullock, Montgomery, Lowndes, Dallas, Perry, Hale, Wilcox, Marengo, Sumter, and Greene. Following Reconstruction the section had a very large Negro population, most of whom, following emancipation, had become farm tenants on the lands of white property owners. The owners usually lived in the towns, the tenants on the farms.

When cotton brought a good price, there was plenty of business to be done serving the few whites and the large number of Negroes who were advanced or "stood for" by the plantation owners or merchants. Since many Negroes had some white person who would ordinarily "stand for" them, Negro customers were not spurned by business or professional men. They were a large proportion of the total number of customers in the Black Belt. In the sandy land sections of the same counties there were more white customers, but they might be less dependable financial risks than Negroes backed by white planters of the wealthier prairie sections.

The top complementary functions of cotton purchase and commodity sale were usually combined in the person of the advancing merchant. While the largest amount of cotton was probably bought by these merchants, there were cotton buyers who made it their task to buy cotton for the large jobbers at a distance and who bought either from the farmers or from the local merchants. It was common practice, however, for the retail merchants to sell their

cotton on commission to the same wholesale merchants on Water Street in Selma or in Meridian, Mississippi, Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, or Mobile, from whom they bought their sale merchandise.

Each community and town had its trading area from which it drew cotton and to which it sold the necessities and the luxuries of life. Selma, Montgomery, Demopolis, Tuscaloosa, Meridian, Mississippi, and, to a lesser extent, towns like Union Springs, Greensboro, and Eutaw served as wholesale centers from which goods and groceries went out to the retail merchants of their trade area. Each town was jealous of the money spent in its area, and resisted the inroads made by other towns into its trade. "Spend at home" was a favorite slogan directed not only against the city at a distance but also, after 1900, against the mail order houses.[1]

Merchants of Montgomery and Selma and, to a less degree, of Greensboro, Marion, Union Springs, and other towns bought their goods in New York City and shipped them back on the train.[2] Marion and Selma were rivals for the trade that lay between the two towns. Retail trade came to Selma from as far away as Demopolis.[3] Greensboro claimed a trading territory with a radius of twenty miles around the town.[4] During most of the period the people came by wagon over very unsatisfactory roads or by train to the cities at a distance.[5]

Montgomery claimed a trade area that extended throughout central and southern Alabama, western Florida, and eastern Mississippi. Prior to the depression of 1893, Montgomery claimed a total volume of trade amounting to $30,000,000 annually. She also claimed receipts of 100,000 to 140,000 bales of cotton annually, grocery sales of $7,000,000, and dry goods sales of nearly $3,000,000.[6]

Court Square in Montgomery was throughout most of the period the picturesque market for buying and selling cotton brought on

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1 *Marion Standard,* October 19, 1899, April 6, 1917; *Greensboro Record,* May 4, 1906; *Selma Morning Times,* October 27, 1895; *Demopolis Times,* July 14, 1910.

2 *Union Springs Times,* August 15, 1868, April 27, 1870; *Southern Argus,* March 9, 1877; *Selma Times,* October 6, 1880; *Greensboro Record,* July 6, 1906; *Selma Times-Argus,* August 4, 1882; *Marion Commonwealth,* September 15, 1881.

3 *Demopolis Times,* January 25, 1906; *Marion True Democrat,* July 4, 1883.

4 *Montgomery Advertiser,* June 22, 1905.

5 *Montgomery Daily Advertiser,* January 11, 1880.

6 Riley, *Alabama As It Is,* p. 177; *Montgomery City Directory, 1888,* p. 11.

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wagons from the plantations. It was here that the local warehousemen met the planters and bids were made back and forth until sales were consummated. Wagon after wagon loaded with bales of the fleecy staple, not only from Montgomery County but from a radius of many miles around, filled all the available space in the square. With the arrival of each wagon the representatives of various warehouses put in their bids for the storing of the staple. Frequently there was much "dickering," often a wrangle, before the cotton was released. The bidding between the warehousemen at times became intense and heated as the planter held out for the highest bid on his staple. Bidding went on simultaneously in many parts of the square. With the disposal of one wagon load, another wagon load arrived, and the bidding started again. Thus the busy scene was repeated day after day throughout the entire cotton picking season.[7]

To remedy deficiencies in the Montgomery cotton trade the cotton warehousemen, brokers, factors, and buyers banded together in 1912 to organize a cotton exchange. Some shortcomings of the cotton business as it existed were, according to cotton men, the lack of standards and regulations, the lack of a universal daily quotation, the lack of information common to all of the trade, and other factors which they expected to remedy by an organized exchange.[8] Considerable opposition was aroused by the effort of the new exchange to eliminate the old custom of selling cotton by competitive bidding on Court Square. The new exchange preferred that cotton be sold directly to the warehouses.[9]

Warehouses were located in all the larger towns of the Black Belt, and gins were to be found in most communities of any size. As long as river trading continued, the cotton factors of Mobile were an important element in the cotton trade. They still acted as bankers, wholesale merchants, and cotton commission merchants for the retail advancing merchants up the Alabama, Tombigbee, and Warrior Rivers. Selma in 1896 ranked as the third largest cotton market in the state, receipts averaging something over one hundred thousand bales per year. Five large warehouses and two steam compresses received the cotton.[10]

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7 *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 4, 1909.
8 *Ibid.*, August 24, 1912.
9 *Ibid.*, August 25, 1912.
10 *Mobile Daily Register*, November 17, 1896.

Store Trade

The most common type of store in both town and country was the general merchandise store.[11] In spite of intermittent efforts to place trade on a cash or monthly pay basis,[12] most of the business was done on credit. These general stores were found in "every crossroads village and town" and in the open country.[13] The number in some towns increased between 1884 and 1910, and in others it decreased.[14]

There were also specialized retail outlets. The small towns usually had milliners, dry goods and clothing merchants, jewelers, confectioneries,[15] groceries, drug stores, saloons, butchers,[16] and blacksmiths. Other services available included livery stables, hotels, cotton buyers, cotton warehouses, undertakers, and barbers.[17] Selma, Montgomery, and Mobile offered a wider range of specialized goods and services for the larger trade area which they served.[18]

The dry goods stores usually employed milliners who actually made hats for the ladies.[19] In the earlier part of the period most ladies' and children's garments were made from piece goods, which were sold in every general merchandise and dry goods store. Women dressmakers operated either in their homes or in public shops.[20] In the early twentieth century, however, ladies' and children's ready-

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11 See advertisements in weekly newspapers in the Black Belt counties, 1880–1910.

12 *Alabama Beacon*, January 4, 1878; *Eutaw Whig and Observer*, January 12, 1882; *Marion Commonwealth*, January 4, 1883, May 10, 1877.

13 For a treatment of the Southern country store, see T. D. Clark, *Pills, Petticoats, and Plows. The Southern Country Store*, New York, 1944.

14 *Alabama Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1884–85*, Montgomery, Alabama, 1884, 856; *Young and Company's Business and Professional Directory of the Cities and Towns of Alabama, 1910–11*, Atlanta, Georgia, 1911, cited hereafter as *Young's Directory, 1910–11*.

15 Establishments which handled "all styles of candy," chocolate, chewing gum, tobacco, cigars, soaps, hot coffee, hot chocolate, hot lemonade, hot tea, hot clam bouillon, cold drinks, ice cream, mackerel, molasses, lard, flour, and a general assortment of delicacies not ordinarily found in a grocery. *Marion Commonwealth*, May 10, 1877; *Marion Standard*, January 9, 1884; *Eutaw Whig and Observer*, January 4, 1900.

16 Generally operating in their own shops, independent of the stores.

17 *Alabama Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1884–85, passim; Marengo News Journal*, June 13, 1874; *Marion Standard*, May 11, 1887; *Alabama Beacon*, January 6, 1885; *Canebrake Herald*, March 28, 1890; *Demopolis Express*, October 26, 1893; *Eutaw Whig and Observer*, November 12, 1908.

18 *Alabama Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1884–85*, 597–604

19 *Alabama Beacon*, October 16, 1880; *Livingston Journal*, April 16, 1880; *Canebrake Herald*, September 15, 1911; *Marion Standard*, April, 12, 1884.

20 *Marion Standard*, April 2, 1884.

to-wear became more and more commonly used.[21] Ready-made clothing for men and boys was available before ladies' ready-to-wear became popular.[22]

One of the characteristic elements in the trade of that era was the "drummers" or traveling salesmen who went into the stores of the town and the country, offering the goods of their wholesale houses to the retail merchants. Arriving by train, they would hire horses and buggies with which to call upon the country trade. Theirs was a hard life, but they were greatly appreciated by the merchants because they not only brought goods but news of the outside world.[23]

Many goods were sold by street vendors and peddlers of various sorts.[24] There were vegetable vendors, egg peddlers, fat pine sellers, and native fruit dealers, who frequently had some unique way of presenting their wares to the public through song or chant.[25] In Montgomery these were later replaced to a great extent by the curb market. Clock peddlers found an especially gullible market among the Negroes, who frequently mortgaged their future in order to own an attractive clock.[26] Merchants complained about how their business was hurt by peddlers and about the failure of officials to force them to have licenses.[27] Stove and Bible agents were reported "as thick as thieves" in Livingston in 1901.[28] Picturesque among the tradesmen of the late nineteenth century were the itinerant butchers, photographers, artists, scissors grinders, umbrella fixers, and piano tuners, to say nothing of gypsies, who were accused of plying a less honest trade. They pursued their work unmolested by city codes or health ordinances.[29]

Liquor was sold openly during most of the period. Not only was liquor sold in the saloons, but it was customary to send one's

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21 Clark, *Pills, Petticoats, and Plows,* 202–203.
22 *Alabama Beacon,* March 8, 1879.
23 Clark, *Pills, Petticoats, and Plows,* 122; *Canebrake Herald,* November 21, 1890; *Linden Reporter,* January 17, 1890; *Union Springs Herald,* September 27 1899; *Alabama Beacon,* August 28, 1880.
24 *Marengo News-Journal,* December 9, 1882; *Canebrake Herald,* November 21, 1890.
25 Mabel Farrior, "Folklore-Jingles," MS in Federal Writers Project, Work Projects Administration (Alabama State Department of Archives).
26 *Greensboro Watchman,* January 29, 1891.
27 *Greensboro Watchman,* January 29, 1891.
28 *Sumpter Sun,* November 21, 1901.
29 *Marion Commonwealth,* December 16, 1875, December 14, 1876; *Marion Standard,* November 19, 1884; *Marengo Messenger,* December 6, 1890; *Demopolis Express,* April 12, 1894.

liquor jug to the store to be filled.[30] Lager beer retailed at two and a half cents per glass in Union Springs in 1884.[31]

Most of the towns had their undertakers who baldly and indelicately advertised their "latest improved Burial cases and caskets," "new and full stock [coffins] of all sizes, and fine qualities," or "one of the finest hearses in the State." "Don't fail to call on us and examine our stock."[32]

The most valued trade of all the week came on Saturday, when the Negroes from all the surrounding country came to town to shop and chat.[33] They generally brought the whole family, traveling in wagons into which chairs were sometimes placed, and which were pulled by mules, horses, or oxen. The trip constituted not only a shopping expedition but also a social occasion. The colored people met friends from a distance whom they could not otherwise see, and the younger set got a chance to "court." There was much gossiping, and sometimes a street entertainer who performed for the coins pitched on the ground at his feet. White people stayed off the streets on Saturday afternoon and gave over the sidewalks and stores to the Negroes. The Negro trade was welcome, although this might not be evident from the lack of courtesy and the disdain with which the white clerks served their dark customers.[34]

In the fall, Saturday was not only "nigger" day but also cotton day. Cotton would be brought in early, and the planters would pay visits to the various brokers and buyers to get their bids. Negroes got what cash surpluses they were likely to have all year, and the stores were busy until late in the evening.[35]

Food stocks in the general merchandise stores were mostly limited to the staples: flour, cornmeal, lard, salt pork, sugar, salt, and coffee.[36] The town grocery stores, however, offered a far wider selection of foods than the general stores. Jarvis' Corner in Eutaw advertised in 1880 oranges, lemons, bananas, cocoanuts, pineapples, Giltedged Kentucky butter, and New York cream cheese.[37] A Eutaw store in 1900 offered for sale mackerel, boneless cod, lobsters, shrimp, deviled crabs, and, in 1905, oysters at

30 *Forkland Progress*, September 13, 1890.
31 *Union Springs Herald and Times*, March 26, 1884.
32 *Marion Commonwealth*, May 10, 1877; *Linden Reporter*, December 23, 1887; *Demopolis Express*, April 18, 1895.
33 *Alabama Beacon*, December 22, 1885, January 5, 1886.
34 *Alabama Beacon*, January 1, 1876; *Marion Standard*, January 6, 1892; *Eutaw Whig and Observer*, March 8, 1890.
35 *Marengo Messenger*, December 6, 1890.
36 See records of fourteen general merchandise stores in Alabama State Department of Archives, Montgomery, Alabama.
37 *Eutaw Whig and Observer*, October 14, 1880.

seventy-five cents and one dollar per hundred.[38] Evans Brothers in Greensboro were selling in 1895 canned vegetables, soups, salmon, potted meats, and sardines.[39] W. H. Howell's grocery store carried in 1881 pickled beef, sugar cured hams, eggs, deep sea mackerel, dried apples, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, cheese, macaroni, plain crackers, fancy crackers, rice, grits, and canned tomatoes.[40]

Most of the towns had meat markets that dealt in country produce such as butter, eggs and poultry, as well as beeves, shoats, muttons, and kids.[41] It was the custom in Union Springs in the eighties to ring meat market bells to announce the presence of saleable meats.[42] The Camden *Home Ruler* complained in 1883 that the town received beef only once or twice a week at irregular intervals, and then it cost ten cents to twelve and one-half cents per pound.[43]

In accordance with city ordinances, these markets generally slaughtered their animals outside the town limits,[44] though they sometimes complained of the inconvenience. The butchers of Demopolis objected that it was "pretty hard on them to go two miles and a half to kill a fifteen cent goat in fly time!"[45] Not all meats were locally slaughtered, since Philip Armour had an "immense" establishment at Selma in 1893 for the distribution of meats.[46]

Montgomery maintained a public market house for meat, fish, poultry, game, vegetables, and other provisions.[47] The city code forbade competition from hucksters and others except licensed grocers during market hours.[48] Milk analysis and inspection of meats and dairies were begun in 1897.[49]

It is likely that local services of various sorts and specialty services in particular were better developed than comparable small town services are today. There was less buying at distant city markets and more dependence on the local services because of circumscribed

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38 *Ibid.*, March 8, 1900, November 2, 1905.
39 *Alabama Beacon*, February 27, 1895.
40 *Marion Commonwealth*, March 21, 1881.
41 *Alabama Beacon*, March 3, 1882; *Marengo News-Journal*, December 16, 1882; *Union Springs Times*, February 22, 1868.
42 *Union Springs Herald*, September 21, 1887.
43 *The Home Ruler*, August 29, 1883.
44 Minutes, Town of Marion, Alabama, 1916–1925 (City Hall, Marion, Alabama).
45 *Marengo News*, Demopolis, April 23, 1891.
46 B. F. Riley, *Alabama As It Is*, Montgomery, 1887, 1893.
47 *Code of Ordinances of the City Council of Montgomery with Charters, 1879*, Montgomery, Alabama, 1879, 65, 82–84.
48 *Ibid.*, 78.
49 *Annual Message... John H. Clisby, Mayor of Montgomery... 1898*, Montgomery, Alabama, 1898, "Report of the City Physician."

transportation facilities and the absence of modern machine-made products. A bakery in Union Springs in 1868,[50] a traveling tailor from New Orleans in Livingston in 1898,[51] a local one in Marion in 1885,[52] dressmakers and seamstresses galore,[53] boot and shoemakers,[54] and professional milliners[55] were among the specialties practiced in the small towns[56] which are not common there today.

Numerous Jewish merchants were to be found not only in the larger towns but also in the small towns, villages, and communities. Names like Liepold, Ullman, Eliasberg,[57] Obendorf,[58] and Gerstman[59] were familiar in Selma, while the Mayers,[60] Rosenbush, and Sam Stein[61] in Demopolis, J. Cohen in Eutaw,[62] Tannenbaum Brothers and M. H. Levi in Livingston,[63] and J. Schiffman[64] in Gainesville were prominent and respected as valuable citizens. Many others were to be found in the various towns of the Black Belt down to the days of the boll weevil and the World War. It may be significant that few Jewish names can be found in the Black Belt today; those that remain are mostly in the larger towns.

There were hotels in all the towns and in some of the small communities. The limited transportation facilities gave reason for the patronage of small hotels that did not exist at a later period. Montgomery had seven hotels in 1895.[65] The most famous of these was the Exchange, located on Court Square, favorite gathering spot for politicians and celebrities since 1848.[66] Rooms might be had in 1885 for fifty cents, seventy-five cents, and a dollar at the

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50 *Union Springs Times*, February 22, 1868.
51 *Sumpter County Sun*, January 6, 1898
52 *Marion Standard*, January 7, 1885.
53 *Forkland Progress*, September 13, 1890.
54 *Ibid.*, December 20, 1890.
55 *Livingston Journal*, April 16, 1880; *Canebrake Herald*, September 15, 1911.
56 The term "small towns" is used here to mean such places as Livingston, Eutaw, Greensboro, Marion, Camden, Union Springs, Linden, Fort Deposit, York, and Demopolis. Places smaller than these are referred to as "communities," "villages," or "places." The larger towns or cities in the area were Montgomery, Selma, Tuscaloosa, Mobile, Meridian, Mississippi, and Columbus, Georgia.
57 *Selma Morning Times*, December 14, 1901.
58 *Alabama Baptist*, October 27, 1881.
59 Louis Gerstman Collection, in possession of Mrs. C. W. Wynn, Selma, Alabama.
60 *Demopolis Times*, October 13, 1910.
61 *Ibid.*, October 11, 1906.
62 *Eutaw Mirror*, November 27, 1895,
63 *Sumpter County Sun*, August 19, 1897, October 13, 1898.
64 J. Schiffman did an extensive advancing business in north Sumter County as evidenced by the record of his mortgages in the probate office.
65 H. G. McCall, *A Sketch, Historical and Statistical, of the City of Montgomery*, Montgomery, Alabama, 1885, 36–37.
66 *Ibid.*, 36–37.

National House nearer the passenger depot.[67] Selma had the St. James at the river landing, and later the Albert several blocks down the main street.[68] Guests were attracted to the small town hotels because of court business, merchandising business, mineral springs, and the difficulty of rapid travel from one town to another.[69] Livingston attracted a great many visitors who came to drink the mineral water from its artesian or "bored well."[70]

The Horse and Buggy Business

The pattern of business and industry that centered around horse-drawn transportation was so extensive as to resemble in many respects the web of business and industry that today clusters around the automobile.

The buying and selling of animals was a large industry. Montgomery had stock sales of $300,000 in 1886. Four stables did a general sale business. Stock were brought there from the producing centers in Kentucky and Tennessee. Montgomery did a large business feeding stock that were brought in for distribution and taken by drovers through the country to the smaller markets of central Alabama.[71]

Buggies, surries, and wagons constituted a very important portion of store trade throughout the section, and there were some carriage and wagon factories in the area.[72] Harness, saddles, feed, and accessories of various sorts added greatly to the business of the day.[73] Livery stables not only kept horse and buggy outfits for public hire, but also sold feed, horses, and equipment.[74] Harness shops dealt in harness, whips, robes, saddles, blankets, and other horse equipment, and did repair work.[75]

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67 *Ibid.*, 37–39.

68 C. C. Grayson, *Yesterday, Memories of Selma and Its People* (n. p., n. d.).

69 *Forkland Progress*, June 7, 1890; *Alabama Beacon*, January 13, 1885; *York News*, January 8, July 9, 1889; *Sumter County Sun*, September 12, 1907; *Livingston Journal*, March 30, 1883, August 13, 1885.

70 *York News*, April 17, July 3, 1888.

71 *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, September 27, 1886.

72 *Ibid.*, September 27, 1886.

73 *Wilcox Progressive Era*, January 16, 1902; *Sumter County Sun*, February 8, 1906.

74 *Greene County Democrat*, January 10, 1906; *Geiger Times*, December 1, 1910; *York News*, September 5, 1889; *Alabama Beacon*, January 25, 1887.

75 *Demopolis Express*, February 20, 1896.

Book Reviews

Church-State Relationships in Education in Illinois. By Daniel W. Kucera, O.S.B., The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1955.

This investigation, one in a series of such studies on the state level, is the first of its kind to trace the development of church-state relationships in education in a mid-western state. The choice of Illinois is the more felicitous because of the importance of the 1948 McCollum decision against the Champaign Board of Education over the use of public school premises during released-time religious instruction. This decision represented a high-water mark in the secularization of the public schools and a consummation hardly wished for by the Yankee proponents of the common school system a century earlier.

The author does a workman-like job, on the whole, in depicting the chain of events by which this transformation came about. This included the school law of 1855, which erected the public school as a Protestant school, a means for the furtherance of Protestant-Christian schools and, an effective answer, it was hoped, to the Catholic parochial school. Thus, nativism must be accounted as entering into this legislation and its far-reaching results. By 1870 all denominational schools were constitutionally barred from receiving any public funds. As the boasted nonsectarianism of this public school gave ground to a growing secularism, more stress was placed on Bible reading and prayers in such schools, another unhappy compromise which brought on even more debate and criticism. By this time criticism of the extension of public education, even by Protestants, was fiercely resented.

Matters came to another climax in the 1890's over the Edwards Law on compulsory school attendance. Lutherans and Catholics, both with parochial schools, objected to this law because, they argued, it gave too much power over their schools to the local public school boards.

Now a political issue, the measure espoused by the Republicans and attacked by Democrats was repealed as the Democrats were given a majority. Bible reading, in turn, was ruled out by the Illinois Supreme Court in 1910 as an act of worship contrary to the non-sectarian nature of the public schools; though in 1917 the same Court allowed the use of public funds for dependent children in sectarian charity institutions.

The Illinois courts again blocked the secularists in the earlier stages of the McCollum case by distinguishing between aiding religion generally and a religious group particularly over the question of released-time religious instruction on a voluntary basis in public school buildings. The reversal of this decision by the U. S. Supreme Court took this matter beyond the state level but only to increase confusion in the whole forty-eight states. At this juncture, in addition to citing the dissenting opinion of Justice Reed in the McCollum case, a bit more attention to critics of the decision, e.g., Hartnett, O'Neil, et al., might well have been in order. The author, right-

fully enough, it seems, considers the U. S. Supreme Court ruling in the Zorach Case in New York City a partial redemption of the confusion precipitated in the McCollum case. There religious instruction off public school premises was considered within the meaning of the First Amendment.

Needless to say, the battle is hardly over. Father Kucera's work calmly sheds much-needed light in an area where heat has been at more of a premium. Witness again the attacks upon parochial schools as divisive, an attack which they underwent in the latter part of the nineteenth century. That such attacks are largely diversionary tactics to pull attention away from a more profound struggle for the control of public education seems to be well contended and documented in this study. "The separation of church and state has all too frequently been used in this connection as a battle cry of vested interests rather than a solid principle of American life." In this regard some inclusion of the inroads of John Dewey's experimentalism in American education as offering a secular religion, complete with creed, code and cult, seems indicated to round out the legislative and judicial account of the evolution of a state school system as we know it today in Illinois.

JOHN WOZNIAK

Loyola University, Chicago

The Socialist Party of America, A History. By David A. Shannon. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1955. Pp. xi, 320. $4.50.

At first, this book struck the reviewer as a rather remarkable evaluation in popular form of something which those of the older generation can remember having caused excitement and some worry back at the turn of the century, and something which grew more disturbing until World War I and then was forgotten in the late thirties, that is, the Socialist Party. It was not until the bibliographical essay and the notes, which are hidden away at the end of the volume, were studied that it became evident that the smoothly flowing text was the result of a wide amount of research. Statements which had seemed to be generalizations without sufficient evidence are shown by this apparatus to be based on a rather satisfactory foundation.

Although the preface (page 14) states the purpose of the book: "to describe the Socialist rise and decline, to narrate the significant events in *the party's history,*" (emphasis added), the reader may wonder at first why so little is said about the reasons which impelled the socialists to be what they were. He gets the answer on page 258, where Mr. Shannon says, "We are concerned with Socialist politics not Socialist theory." That seems to explain why the book merely interests itself with how the party of Eugene V. Debs, Morris Helquist, Victor Berger and Norman Thomas elected national and state legislators and installed municipal administrations, and why it does not emphasize what the basic principles of socialism were.

The author considers socialism as a political party, dead today, and diagnoses its death as caused by "the New Deal and internal factionalism

(page 235)." There always was factionalism in the party even in its heyday. The real meaning of this diagnosis seems to be that the enthusiastic element of the Socialist Party became Communist after World War I (Cf. Chapter VIII, especially pages 166 and 167), and the more conservative group couldn't find much to advocate beyond the reforms of F.D.R. Hence as a party socialism had no reason for existence. Back in 1901, when the party had its first formal convention, the unfamiliar Marxian jargon which the leaders used attracted followers with the lure which is ever present as one ventures into the unknown. Today after the western world has witnessed the Soviet enslavement which follows upon such an adventure, there seems no need to attempt to resuscitate a party which distinguished itself from Marxian Communists only by the use of another name. The book ends with a thought provoking analysis of the conflict between American traditions and Marxism. The index is short but adequate for this type of a book.

Raphael N. Hamilton

Marquette University

American Political Thought. By Alan Pendleton Grimes. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1955. Pp. 500. $6.00.

This work in American political theory is brief, scholarly and readable. The author presents the leading political theorists within their times and essays their contributions. With considerable ability he links one with the other in terms of influence, comparison and dissent. This gives the study a unity which it would not possess were it merely a chronological collection of writings on the state.

Although Professor Grimes is concerned primarily with *American* political thought, he devotes some sixty odd pages of discussion to "The Rise of Protestanism" and "Puritan Political Thought." These chapters could easily have been tailored. They are ragged, sketchy and show evidences of hurrying on to the main work. Similarly, the concluding two chapters, "Modern Anti-Democratic Thought" and "Pragmatic Liberalism," are ragged and cursory and are impatient to conclude the work.

Professor Grimes book is not strictly political theory; in fact, it is more of a work on political economy. Major writers (and some not so major) in economics, history, sociology and philosophy are treated along with the writers on politics. The measurement for their inclusion is their contribution to political theory. Thus considerable space is accorded sociologists like George Fitzhugh and William Graham Sumner, economists like Henry George and Thorstein Veblem, historians like George Bancroft and Charles Beard and philosophers like William James and John Dewey.

Mention must also be made, too, of the extended treatment the "Utopians" receive beginning with Robert Owen and ending with Edward Bellamy; the philosophical arnachists like David Thoreau; and the litterateurs like Emerson and Whitman.

By contrast there are some significant omissions. Thus, Lincoln is "covered" in only four pages; no mention is made, let alone discussed, of Brownson's "The American Republic"; the politics and the constitutionalism of the post Civil-War is neglected; President Theodore Roosevelt is not given more than a line in any one place; Henry Clay cannot even be found in the index and aside from a discussion of the Puritan Theocracy in Boston, there is no discussion of Church and State under the First Amendment.

No mention is made, direct or indirect, of Catholic political theorists. St. Thomas is mentioned in one line and Orestes Brownson is called a Catholic, but that is all. This is unfortunate since the record of Catholic influence of American political institutions is available and impressive.

Professor Grimes, it seems to this reviewer, leans too heavily on Hobbes and Locke. Practically every writer is categorized either an Hobbesian (like Hamilton who believed in a strong state which emphasized order) or Lockean (like Jefferson who believed in a weaker state which emphasized liberty). There is, however, a third position which avoids the totalitarianism of Hobbes and the contractualism of Locke. That position, stated briefly, is that neither the Hobbesian (all powerful state) nor the Lockean (all powerful people) is the source of all authority. All authority comes from God, which is entrusted to the people for their designation. This theory is not only moderate and sane but democratic and Catholic.

These dissents aside, Professor Grime's survey is a well-done, amply documented textbook on American political thought.

JOSEPH F. MENEZ

Loyola University, Chicago

The Cabildo in Peru Under the Hapsburgs. By John Preston Moore. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1954. Pp. viii, 309. Illustrated. $6.00.

Most venerable among the institutions brought by Europeans to the American colonies was the town council, and most significant among the elderly buildings in each municipality from Quebec to Chiloé is a town hall, an hôtel de ville, a cabildo frowning upon a public square. This feature of urban life, whether a shack or a massive edifice, is now quite accepted and too commonplace to attract more than the passing attention of citizens. Yet it has long been worthy of special study as an institution foreshadowing democracy and having within itself the seeds of the new forms of American governments. Specifically, the Spanish secular cabildo in the New World, has long needed an intelligent appraisal. This Professor Moore has done and has done well in the book under review.

Viewing the mass of source materials on his subject Professor Moore was forced to limit the extent of his book and to indicate the exact coverage in the sub-title: "A Study in the Origins and Powers of the Town Council in the Viceroyalty of Peru 1530–1700." As a background of the estab-

lishment of the powers of the magistrates in Peru there is an introductory chapter on the rise of the cabildo's power in Spain, particularly in the Castilian province of Andalusia. The second chapter explains how the newly united Kingdom of Spain was forced to establish a policy for overseas administration when it took possession of the Canary Islands. Isabella granted liberal privileges to the town council of Las Palmas, thus forming a pattern which was gradually extended and evolved in the Americas.

The body of the book is well organized in the next fifteen chapters. In these illuminating pages there are descriptions of the planning of the American municipality, the rights of its magistrates, their duties and privileges, the changing system of elections, the functions of the local officials, the open cabildo, the powers of defence of the municipality, the methods of granting land to settlers, to towns and to Indians, the finances, the local trade and business regulations, social welfare, education, fiestas, the conflicts between the secular cabildo and the ecclesiastical, the separate Indian towns, and the ultimate discontent of the citizens as the crown policy of administration became more and more absolutist. The cabildo played its great part in the organization of colonial society but was stopped short of its goal of local autonomy by the decadent monarchy. The book is clear and pleasant reading, the product of wide research and matured thought.

Jerome V. Jacobsen

Loyola University, Chicago

Notes and Comments

Copy of a Letter of the King of Portugal Sent to the King of Castile Concerning the Voyage and Success of India, translated by Sergio J. Pacifici, a publication from the James Ford Bell Collection in the University of Minnesota Library, was published in 1955 by The University of Minnesota Press and in Great Britain, India and Pakistan. This book of twenty-four pages, "in Linotype Janson on Corinthia text was designed by Jane McCarthy of the University of Minnesota Press," and printed by the Lund Press of Minneapolis with binding by the A. J. Dahl Company. The format is a highly artistic accomplishment and any collector of fine prints will be happy to pay the five dollars for one of the thousand copies extant.

The rare item, one of four copies in the world, is the "letter" said to have been written by the Portuguese king, which appeared in Italian in Rome on October 28, 1505, as a news account of the first four voyages made under the auspices of Portugal to India. As such it has value as a contemporary opinion of the dangers and glories of the long water route to the much sought East. Mr. Pacifici's translation is smooth and accurate. He does not attempt an edition of the news letter, probably in view of the critical studies of the late William B. Greenlee on Cabral and the detailed accounts of the other navigations made by Portuguese and British scholars. Others may discover the authorship of the letter in due time, but it is important to have this welcome book as a document among the many that throw light upon a great turning point of history.

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A Bibliography of Father Richard's Press in Detroit, by A. H. Greenly, was published at the end of last year by William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Mr. Greenly's introduction has a brief sketch of the life of Father Gabriel Richard (1767–1832), the Sulpician who left France to become a missionary in Illinois and later a well known pastor in Detroit. Mention is made of his incumbency as the first vice-president of what is now the University of Michigan and of his election to be a Representative in Congress from Michigan Territory. Stress is laid, however, on the products of the press which Richard purchased and had set up in Detroit in 1809. Painstaking research and editorial work mark

this presentation in forty-eight pages of fifty-two items printed during the short span of life of the Richard Press. The calendaring of each items and the translations are well done. The artistic printing "in Bembo type on Arches paper by The Stinehour Press, Luneburg, Vermont," should merit an award. The price of each of the two hundred copies for sale is five dollars.

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In the early part of this decade there was quite some talk about the statements made in several publications to the effect that Father Marquette, the Jesuit explorer and missionary, was not a priest, Several articles appeared here and in Canada, one in MID-AMERICA, with documentary evidence showing what all historians have believed without question, that Marquette had been ordained. The two prime instigators of the defamation of Marquette continued their argumentation. Letters came to the editor of MID-AMERICA begging him to do something to stop the nonsensical statements. We refused to prove further what had already been amply proven.

Father Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., one of the staff historians of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome, having the wealth of the Jesuit archives at his disposal, decided to end the matter by offering complete proofs of Marquette's priesthood from the French, Roman, and Canadian documents. The result is an article, "Father Jacques Marquette, S.J. His Priesthood in the Light of the Roman Archives," published in the October, 1955, *The Catholic Historical Review*. The findings leave no room for doubt about Marquette's status as a priest, except the extreme improbability that the bishop who ordained him in Canada did not have the required intention of ordaining him. Staying strictly to his purpose of using the Roman archives, Father Burrus makes no mention of earlier articles appearing in Canadian historical periodicals and in MID-AMERICA with documentary photostats proving the same point.

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"The Great Debate on Charter Reform," is a thoughtful article by John Logue in *Thought,* Autumn, 1955. Article 109 of the Charter of the United Nations makes it possible to review and amend the Charter and the point is on the agenda for the present Tenth General Assembly. There have been hundreds of suggested

amendments, many with respect to the veto powers in general and in particular. Mr. Logue gives the pro and contra arguments of the question, touching the major issues and indicating the complexity of the problems. Ultimately, the authority of the United Nations must be established if it is to act in a legislative, executive and judicial capacity. Debates will go on, interpretations will be made, amendments will be proposed, but to what effect if authority behind the law is lacking?

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"The Political Uses of Anti-Catholicism: Michigan and Wisconsin, 1890–1894," by Donald L. Kinzer, appeared in *Michigan History,* September, 1955. This article reveals how the American Protective Association, the APA, united in Michigan after the election of 1890, returned a Democrat majority and by anti-Catholic propaganda served the Republicans for their victory in 1892. Wisconsin, another normally Republican state, went Democrat in 1890 and 1892, because of the Lutheran and Catholic opposition to the Bennett compulsory school attendance law, which required the use of English in all schools. Here, APAism split both parties by 1894, before it gradually was repudiated as a treacherous bogeyman in any camp. It is to be noted that Mr. Kinzer wrote his doctoral dissertation in 1954 on "The American Protective Association: a Study of Anti-Catholicism," at the University of Washington, and that Alvin P. Stauffer wrote his doctoral dissertation, "Anti-Catholicism in American Politics, 1865–1900," in 1933 at Harvard. Both of these studies unfortunately are not yet published.

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James C. Malin, of the Department of History of the University of Kansas, has just brought out and is distributing privately another of his lithoprinted volumes as a preparation for the continuation of his Grassland Historical Studies. This one in 436 pages is *The Contriving Brain and the Skillful Hand.* "This book," Professor Malin says, "is peopled largely by obscure individuals, largely by those who have been ignored by historians, or at most only casually and inadequately recognized," and he goes on to say, "If one is to know truly the United States of the nineteenth century, he must ignore largely what is found in the histories, whether general, political, economic, intellectual, or literary, and search out these forgotten men and women, the common folk who were engrossed in

doing their own job to the best of their ability without the spotlight of publicity." Now these will likely be "fighting words" to historians. But the author goes on to give the philosophy of the century, the most influential of the modern scienists, or contriving brains, the false bases of the philosophies of Condorcet, Priestly, Godwin, and Malthus; then there are the men who built our mechanical power and the "science of efficiency." Emerging is an historiography of rather amazing scope and critical acumen. It would take too long to describe the elaborate topical break-down in the table of contents and to list even some of the many forgotten writers. If an index had been compiled it would have added many pages to the volume.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 38, NUMBER 2 APRIL 1956

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The Loyola Toynbee Symposium

On November 18 and 19, 1955, Loyola University of Chicago held a cooperative appraisal of Toynbee's historical work under the title "The Intent of Toynbee's History." The major papers were read by scholars from ten universities, representing the fields of archeology, the classics, theology, church history, political science, philosophy and the history of Western Europe, Central Europe, Russia and America. This conference was unique in evidently marking a shift in the attitude of historians toward Toynbee. Up to this time the prevailing attitude of the academic historian was, it seems, that described by the anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber, speaking at the Columbia Bicentennial Conference, as a "polite edging away from Arnold J. Toynbee." At the Loyola conference on Toynbee, the attendance of scholars and students from some forty universities was indicative of an agreed upon, if somewhat sceptical, interest in Toynbee's historical position.

The introductory paper was read by Edward Gargan, of Loyola University, who served as General Chairman of the Symposium. This paper surveyed the critical reception of Toynbee's *A Study of History** in England and America. Over the last twenty years the professional journals almost unanimously agreed that Toynbee's work was outside the serious scope of the academic historian. This is nowhere more evident than in England where the *Study* has never received a review in *The English Historical Review* or in *History,* the journal of the Historical Association. A possible explanation for this polite silence is found in the established position of local, legal and national histories in the English historical tradition. Toynbee's quest for a universal synthesis was obviously the antithesis of this

* 10 vols., The Oxford University Press, London. Vols. I-III, 1934; IV–VI, 1939; VII–X, 1954.

precise and often parochial limitation of the historian's art. It was observed, however, that Toynbee's criticism of parochialism in English historical writing has apparently begun to receive consideration in the highest academic circles. The most eminent of contemporary English historians, F. M. Powicke, has during the last twenty years modified his own attitude from extreme doubt about historical generalization of broad scope in time to advocating that his colleagues, and the coming generation of historians, face up to "the discomfort of the historic generalization" which is achieved by avoiding "the wrong kind of specialization."

In America the important professional journals did not ignore Toynbee's work but rather treated their British colleague as an outlaw, confusing rather than clarifying the fundamental problems of historical method and objective. This treatment is best illustrated by Charles A. Beard's reviews of the *Study*. Beard, after his famous Presidential Address to the American Historical Association in 1933, was regarded as a daring critic of the traditional working assumptions of the historian, encouraging a radical scepticism toward the objective character of the historian's findings. But in his reviews Beard left his readers with the strong impression that Toynbee's work represented a wasted and misleading investigation into the task of the historian. The importance of Beard's judgment, it was pointed out, was that it was made in an American scholastic climate which was favorable to a flexible approach to the historian's task. Toynbee, however, was denied any positive role in this search for newer approaches. On the contrary, he was scathingly and mercilessly ridiculed by Lynn Thorndike in the *Journal of Modern History*. Interestingly enough, it was the sociologist, Pitirim A. Sorokin, who reviewed volumes four to six of the *Study* for the *Journal of Modern History,* who entertained a critical sympathy for Toynbee's intention which surpassed all previous professional judgments. The present attitude toward Toynbee is in a state of transition, following the experience of the Second World War and the completion of his work. Whereas he was originally derided as a magician and mystic, he is now cautiously being saluted as a genius and the author of a monumental achievement. The conclusion of this introductory paper drew attention to the qualification which Toynbee insists upon for a fruitful examination of his work, namely that it is not a history but a *study* of history.

Professor William H. McNeill, of the University of Chicago, assessed the various viewpoints from which Toynbee's *Study* may

be evaluated. His paper, "An Evaluation of Toynbee's *Study of History,*" adopted a threefold approach to the appraisal of Toynbee's achievement. Professor McNeill suggested that his work must be examined for its historical accuracy and validity, that it must be understood from the viewpoint of the inner intellectual history of its author and of the times he lived in and, finally, that the *Study* must be scrutinized for its basic assumptions and for the intellectual unity of the work as a whole.

Professor McNeill believes that even if Toynbee's work is disclosed to be obviously in error in matters of fact, it has a value transcending this fault, making it a monumental testimony to the intellectual history of the twentieth century. This is true in part because of the challenge and stimulation offered to the historian by Toynbee's overriding "the conventional boundaries," thus enlarging immeasurably the historian's horizon.

Professor McNeill further praised Toynbee for the extension in depth which he urges upon the historian. He is the rare historian willing to ask fundamental philosophical and theological questions despite the traditional professional avoidance of these questions. Toynbee distinguishes himself from his colleagues by asking, "What laws are human societies subject to? What part does God play in human affairs?" These questions, Professor McNeill ventured, when seriously entertained by the historian, may have the same enriching effect on historical work as did the study of economic history when it broke into the established pattern of political history.

Toynbee's indebtedness for his own wide perspective, Professor McNeill underscored, was in part due to the magnificent archeological discoveries of the late nineteenth century and the present century. Other formative influences on Toynbee's development were the impast of the First World War on Europe and the connection between this crisis and Toynbee's interest in the history of Greece and in her great historian, Thucydides, also a student of the crisis within a civilization. Gradually, however, the classical insight into the secret of human history was no longer sufficient for Toynbee, and he began to seek guidance in a "sophisticated" manner from the Christian inheritance which was his own. Professor McNeill believes that on the eve of the Second World War Toynbee decidedly broke with the wheel of fate conception intrinsic to the classic view of history and came near to understanding the Christian view of suffering and charity as the axis of history. From this view, history is seen as "a gradual, stage by stage revelation of God to Man."

The central argument of Professor McNeill's paper was that, throughout his personal odyssey, Toynbee has as an historian remained essentially consistent in the rules and methods by which he traversed his historical globe. His "empiricism" was necessarily selective and pre-fitted to his argument. The impact of this arbitrary selection would gain, Professor McNeill reasoned, if it were freed from the false label of "empirical." Toynbee's insight and imagination, his true historical guides, could then be appreciated in their undisguised brilliance. Here Professor McNeill saw Toynbee working in the intellectual tradition of which Plato, the master craftsman of the myth, was his most successful predecessor. He was also the disciple of Plato in his search to understand "the One in the Many." It is ultimate metaphysical questions which are the binding threads of his entire work whose unity is the conviction that the historical process has as its archetype "a Form or Idea."

Toynbee's place within the intellectual tradition of the West, which was touched upon by Professor McNeill, was the subject of the paper by Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi, of The Catholic University of America. Professor Janosi began by observing that his assigned topic, "Toynbee and the Tradition of Universal History," was so vast a subject as to merit its own symposium. Within the severe limitations of time, he then traced out the essential directions taken in the writing of universal history, with reference to Toynbee's participation in the legacy of this genre.

Beginning with the historians Herodotus and Thucydides, Professor Janosi credited them with a "universal-historical awareness" which remained, however, subordinate to the main stress of their historical compositions. Polybius, on the other hand, explicitly projected a universal history governed by a cyclic approach to the course of human history. Though this view found adherents in later centuries, it was not the major formative influence in the writing of history in the West. Professor Janosi considers St. Augustine's concept of mankind moving as a whole toward a single great goal the decisive historical attitude. The Augustinian tradition, which was variously interpreted by such thinkers as Anselm of Havelberg, Otto of Frysing and Ordericus Vitalis, was most splendidly continued and built upon by Bossuet and Giambattista Vico.

The neglect of Bossuet by modern students of historical writing, even by scholars of the stature of Meinecke, Professor Janosi attributed to the misleading impression that Bossuet had a simplicist view of the Divine interference in history. On the contrary, Pro-

fessor Janosi noted, Bossuet's cautious estimate of the "rare moments" when God's hand can be perceived by the historian was very close to the position of Ranke. Professor Janosi also commented upon Bossuet's mature appreciation of political life and his emphasis upon the study of the manners and character of peoples which led the historians of the Enlightenment to develop their concepts of the history of civilization.

Professor Janosi presented Vico as revealing a more complicated intelligence than Bossuet in his search for the ideal pattern of history which he believed present in every historical moment. Here the cyclic concept was understood in harmony with the idea of the Divine interference; it was, indeed, regarded as intrinsic to the work of Providence. Vico's humility and his heroic effort to penetrate into the spirit of past ages Professor Janosi saw as foreign to the narcissism which characterized the *philosophes* as historians. Universal history, Professor Janosi observed, was valuable to them because it offered proof of the unvarying principles of human and social conduct which explained the advanced progress of the human race in the eighteenth century. Here it was "mankind at large" which attracted the historian's attention to the neglect of the individual moment and the unique personality.

A return to individuality as the concern of the historian who was at the same time sympathetic to a universal outlook, Professor Janosi found to be the achievement of Winckelman, Herder and the German school which followed them. Poetry and art engaged these historians, and, in the case of Herder, taught him to appreciate without pragmatic design the value of alien civilizations in themselves. Also in Herder, the sense of mankind's developing as an organic whole was judged to be an echo of Augustine and a point of departure for the Romantics who substituted the organic concept for the *corpus mysticum.* Professor Janosi pointed out that with the Romantics the "organic concept" was drawn upon to enhance the history of individual nations rather than truly to develop the concept of universal history. Ranke, however, interpreted the Romantic accent to require a life-time's devotion to the task of achieving a universal history. But he was described as severely limited in his understanding of the possibility of diverse civilizations. For him there was only one "Kultur," the Western, and that was often unbelievably truncated into the "Romantic-Teutonic peoples." Professor Janosi argued that the very limits of Ranke's vision made possible

the optimism which permeates his historical work, an optimism not found in his contemporaries, Nietzsche, Marx and Dostoevski.

It was shared, Professor Janosi declared, with his French colleagues Guizot and Michelet and his German predecessor, Hegel. A few nations dominate their histories, preparing the way for the presentation of their own nation's history as a valid reflection of the currents of world history. This nationalism was softened and even dignified by Guizot's defining the historian's task as one of establishing "those great views which constitute the philosophy of history and without which it is only a mass of facts as inconclusive as they are disconnected." Professor Janosi identified the link between the French historians and Hegel as the problem of freedom seen as the general goal of the course of history. With Hegel this problem, pursued with a unique intensity, once again produced the paradoxical phenomenon of the historian utilizing a theological and metaphysical perspective to emphasize the political nation as the core of history. Here again Professor Janosi noted that only a rigid economy in the selection of the subject matter enabled the historian to retain an optimistic view.

This optimistic view was not, however, continued by subsequent nineteenth century historians such as Lasaulx, Gobineau and Spengler. While most commentators have stressed the differences between Spengler and Toynbee, Professor Janosi preferred to note the one attitude which brings them together, their central concern with the implications of the dual drama of classical and modern Western civilization.

Professor Janosi presented Toynbee's place within this long heritage as that of a thinker who, though not always consciously, recapitulates in a personal manner many of the approaches to universal history developed in the past. Professor Janosi observed, by way of example, that Toynbee shares the confidence of the *philosophes* in extracting from history through a kind of deductive "meditation" truth not found in documentary evidence alone. He obviously joins Augustine and, more closely, Ranke in his trust in the intuition by which the universal historian discovers God's traces in history. His criticism of the "will-o'-the-wisp of omniscience," an attitude recalling Burckhardt's view, was contrasted with his own tenacious pursuit of completeness evidenced by his ten volumes and twenty-one civilizations. The apparent contradictions in the *Study* are resolved, as Professor McNeill also indicated, by an appreciation of the importance of the myth for Toynbee. In his final comment Profes-

sor Janosi located Toynbee in the select company of thinkers who were not "too averse to the possibility of changing the old sampling method of Universal History by turning sometimes to tell a 'true lie.' "

Professor William Foxwell Albright, of Johns Hopkins University, was scheduled to read the luncheon paper on "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to the Origin, Growth, Breakdown and Disintegration of Civilizations." At the last minute, illness unfortunately prevented Professor Albright from joining the symposium; however, his paper is promised for the published edition of the conference. Professor J. K. Lukacs, of Chestnut Hill College, Pennsylvania, agreed, on the shortest notice, to read the luncheon paper. Its title was "Kipling, Jerrold and the Christian Man's Burden." The paper examined at considerable length the implications behind the quarrel between Douglass Jerrold and Toynbee. Jerrold's differences with Toynbee were presented in his *The Lie About The West,* written in reply to Toynbee's Reith Lectures, *The World and the West,* and the quarrel carried over for many weeks, in the spring of 1954, into the correspondence pages of the *Times Literary Supplement.* Lukacs expressed the opinion that sensitivity and misgivings concerning the impact of the West on the world were rooted in a false concentration on the imperialistic past, summarized in the now ironic use of the expression "the White Man's Burden." He argued that the Christian man of any color cannot, despite the opprobrium which has been attached to this famous phrase, repudiate either it or its implications. Professor Lukacs maintained that it is a true expression of the Christian man's obligation to show all men the charity invoked so urgently by St. Paul. This "burden," Professor Lukacs insisted, cannot be refused and must in each generation be disassociated from whatever historical revisionism is in current fashion.

In the afternoon session, Toynbee fared somewhat less well at the hands of his critics. The opening paper, "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to the Greco-Roman World," was read by David M. Robinson, Professor of Classics and Archeology at the University of Mississippi. Employing the privileges of seniority, Professor Robinson introduced his paper by considering the formative experience of Toynbee as a student of the classics and archeology in Greece, and especially in Crete, prior to the First World War. This experience paralleled not only Professor Robinson's training and education in this area but it was also shared by many subsequently

famous scholars. Here Professor Robinson intimated that Toynbee's extraordinary awakening to the implications of the diverse civilizations radiating through the history of Crete was an overly-dramatized attitude held to be rather obvious by all who worked seriously in the island. Toynbee's use of this material, however, was not commonplace, neither did Professor Robinson suggest that all those who shared his experience had constructed an historical drama of the proportions of Toynbee's history.

Professor Robinson did not examine the implications of this distinguishing aspect of the experience for Toynbee. The remainder of his paper was devoted to a strict analysis, from the viewpoint of a specialist, of the validity of Toynbee's presentation of the history of Greece and Rome. Here Professor Robinson questioned at length Toynbee's facts and conclusions. He emphatically denied, for example, Toynbee's view that the challenge between Greek civilization and that of Palestine and Syria was an indispensable causal factor in the rise of Christianity. Similarly, he refused to admit that Buddhism was significantly a provocative force in contact with Greek civilization. Considering the Nile, Professor Robinson found Toynbee at fault in deliberately neglecting Ptolemaic papyrology in order to stress the significance of the Seleucid monarchy rather than the Ptolemaic. Perhaps this was due, Professor Robinson suggested, to Toynbee's ignorance of recent restorations, including eighteen volumes of Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Having opened the question of Toynbee's omissions in his documentation, Professor Robinson then compiled a catalogue of such faults, of a staggering length. Among numerous examples, Professor Robinson questioned Toynbee's indifference to the archeological evidence from the excavations at Olynthus. What was at stake here was not so much Professor Robinson's pride in his own work at Olynthus as the critical question of the periodization of the Hellenistic Age. Toynbee also largely neglected the evidence to be found in the fields of numismatics, ceramics, glyptics, sculpture and architecture. His belief that the Peloponnesian War was evidence of the decline of Greek civilization was questioned by Professor Robinson on the common sense ground that the most splendid of Greek achievements in history, in the drama, in philosophy, in architecture were accomplished during and after this round of wars. Further, Toynbee's estimate of the second Punic War as being of fundamental importance in the ultimate decline of the Roman Republic was challenged by Professor Robinson as tenable only because Toynbee made little use of the mon-

ographic and scholarly literature on the economic history of Rome. In the concluding pages of his paper, Professor Robinson emphasized that Toynbee's bibliographical shortcomings limited his value to the specialist in the ancient world and tended to tarnish even his heuristic importance. He conceded, however, that the stimulating effect of Toynbee's over-all construction won the admiration of the historian in general, even if it did not win completely the approval of the specialist residing within that more generous personality.

The Reverend Edward Rochie Hardy, Professor of Church History at the Berkeley Divinity School, followed Professor Robinson with a paper on the important subject, "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to Universal Churches." At the outset, Professor Hardy made the point that, in general, the descriptive terms created and used by Toynbee are neutral in connotation, conveying neither approval nor disapproval of the phenomena under analysis. This is not true, however, when he is dealing with religious problems. Here, for example, Professor Hardy observed that Toynbee used the term "higher religions" by preference as a synonym for Universal Churches. To win his implicit approval, a religion had as a minimum to be "monotheistic (in some sense), universal (at least potentially) and disposed towards a religious ethic and to doctrines of grace and of salvation by divine sufferings."

Professor Hardy lauded Toynbee for the importance which he gives to religion in the historical process and for his concept of Universal Churches as a final creative act of civilizations. Nevertheless, Professor Hardy insisted upon the necessity for a critical attitude in regard to the limitations of his religious sense, his specific knowledge and understanding of the major religions he analyzes and his view of Christianity. Discussing the question of the level of Toynbee's religious sense, Professor Hardy offered as an analogy the idea that Christian mysticism may be known on three levels, the first, that of a St. John of the Cross and his devout reader; the second, that of a student of the original sources; and the third, that of a reader of a handbook on the Spanish mystics. Toynbee's comprehension of religion in most cases is on the third level, occasionally on the second and only "for one particular kind of religion on the first."

From the viewpoint of Toynbee's historical accuracy, Professor Hardy objected in part to his interpretation of the Omayyad Caliphate, to his presentation of the eighth century Byzantine Empire

and its caesaro-papism and to his analysis of the significance of Father Ricci's work in China. In the area of Toynbee's personal and historical grasp of the religions he studied, Professor Hardy questioned his treatment of Judaism, his preference for Mahayana Buddhism to the neglect of Hinayana and his classification of Hinduism as a Universal Church. Professor Hardy asserted that Toynbee's ethical and historical perspective was responsible for his distortions of the actual historical reality of these religions. And, as a further explanation for the questionable images which Toynbee developed, Professor Hardy suggested that he has a real dislike for the concrete in religious discussions. This leads him equally to oversimplify the meaning of the Black Stone of Mecca for the Moslem and to oversimplify the theological distinctions precious to the Christian.

Yet Toynbee's grave concern for the destiny of Christianity accounts for the priority of attention and space which he gives to it in a work of universal history. Nevertheless, his approach to religion is defined by the merits and limitations of his scholarship. Professor Hardy cast some doubt on his comprehensiveness and profundity as a biblical critic and traced his shortcomings to his "dependency on writers of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* of the last generation." On another significant point, Toynbee's interpretation of the controversy between Symmachus the pagan and St. Ambrose, Professor Hardy charged Toynbee with failing adequately to study the full historical circumstances surrounding this dispute. In making this criticism Professor Hardy seriously weakened one of Toynbee's major efforts to document his harsh condemnation of Christian intolerance. In the final pages of his paper, Professor Hardy offered some tentative comments on Toynbee's personal religious consciousness, which although admittedly not an historical problem, is pertinent to an understanding of Toynbee the whole man. He offered the opinion that Toynbee's "true religion" is "too purely spiritual." He argued that Toynbee etherializes the religious problem and that religion's earthly realities are slighted in the process of making it a less and less tangible reality. Professor Hardy's concluding comment, given as an element of relief in the midst of criticism, was a graceful appreciation of the essential joy which he sees permeating Toynbee's entire study of the religious problem in history.

Professor Hans Kohn, of the City College of New York, opened the evening session with his paper, "Toynbee and Russia." He in-

troduced his analysis by vigorously declaring his allegiance to the view that, whatever its faults in the conceptual or in the factual order, Toynbee's *Study* will be regarded as a major achievement of historical composition.

Professor Kohn was in essential agreement with Toynbee's emphasis on the development in Russia of an anti-Westernization phobia which accompanied the very Westernization of Russia itself. This process of Westernization decidedly affected not only the secular direction of Russia's history but also her religious orientation and her relations with Central Europe, the Near East and Asia.

He was in "fundamental disagreement" with Toynbee, however, for interpreting modern Western civilization almost exclusively as a technological achievement. Here, he argued, Toynbee failed to stress sufficiently that this technological success was dependent upon the spiritual atmosphere of the West which prized above all "respect for individual liberty and the tolerance of diversity." Professor Kohn argued further that the acute crisis attending the Westernization of Russia and Asia is due precisely to a borrowing of Western administrative and technological rationale while ignoring deliberately their vital wellsprings. Professor Kohn believes that a significant historical analogy can be drawn between the Westernization experience of Prussia and of Russia. He noted that when Prussia, in response to Napoleon I, pushed basic reforms in the army, in administration and in education, it kept undisturbed the foundations of an authoritarian state and society. In this instance, reform did not bring with it a liberal, civilian middle-class society on the Western model. The price paid for the ersatz Westernization in Prussia, Japan and Russia was tragically high. Without the liberalizing leaven of the West, these societies gave rise to totalitarian Fascism and Communism. Professor Kohn severely censured Toynbee for equating Liberalism, Fascism and Communism as ideologies produced as substitutes for theology which Toynbee regarded as discarded by the modern Western world by the seventeenth century when it had acquired its distinguishing features. He believes that Toynbee distorted the true historical picture by failing to accent Liberalism's indebtedness to classical humanism and Christian piety, intrinsic and abiding aspects of Western civilization. The further consequence of Toynbee's erroneous picture is that he failed, as an historian, to emphasize that Fascism and Communism are anti-Western in their rejection of the Western values of "the spirit of tolerance and of individual liberty."

Professor Kohn considers questionable Toynbee's confidence that in time the continuation of the Westernization process may bring to the areas it has disturbed a more harmonious acceptance of the truly civilizing values of the West. On the contrary, he suggested that the priority given to Western technology enables a society such as Russia's to build a protective shell effectively blocking any such transfusion. Similarly, the renewed national consciousness of Russia in the post–1945 period seemed to Professor Kohn more complex than it was presented in the *Study*. He regards Communist Russia as inheriting, with a vengeance, the anti-Western goals of Germany and Japan. Ironically, it is by building upon their failure in this policy that the Russian power has experienced success in Central Europe and in the Far East in a struggle not limited to territorial ambition but to possess "the world and . . . the soul of man."

Professor Kohn also drew attention to Toynbee's error in regarding the present posture of the United States and the Soviet as that of two nations in "a competition for the same prize [of world domination]." Professor Kohn insisted that this is simply not an accurate historical description of America's leadership in the West, which in part must be seen as a charge thrust upon an unwilling nation by accidents of geography and history. He praised Toynbee, however, for his refusal to predict positively the outcome of this tension or even to declare an ultimate clash inevitable. But even here Professor Kohn found his arguments and analogies required modification. Above all, he objected to Toynbee's now famous theory that the Russian-American impasse has as its proper historical analogy the checkmate characteristic of the relationship between the Roman Empire and the Parthian Power and the British Empire and the Russian Empire in Afghanistan in the eighteen-eighties. Professor Kohn observed that these historical analogies break down when the "revolutionary dynamism of Communist messianism" is introduced, for this phenomenon has no parallel in the earlier historical situations. In conclusion, Professor Kohn joined Toynbee in his tribute to the role played by the martyrs in Russia's history, but he added the unhappy thought that the present Soviet rulers by their tyranny are apparently capable of depriving Russia even of that heroic protest which the martyr purchases so dearly.

The second evening paper, "Toynbee's Approach to the History and Character of the United States," was read by Professor Matthew A. Fitzsimons, of the University of Notre Dame. The procedure was a critical survey of Toynbee's account of the course of American

history, relating Toynbee's distinctive presentation to the fundamental structure of his work.

Professor Fitzsimons was markedly shocked at the cursory character of Toynbee's attention to the American story. He took exception, for example, to Toynbee's emphasis on the Protestant ethic as responsible for the racial feeling directed against the native populations of the Americas and related this to Toynbee's equally erroneous view of Colonial New England as the unique force in the struggle for and settlement of North America. Toynbee's refusal to grant a dignified place to political history was looked upon as contributing to his excessively simplified view of the American Civil War. He writes, Professor Fitzsimons, observed, as if Lincoln never existed. One consequence of such a sparse historical consideration of the Civil War is that serious problems, such as "the failure of statesmanship" exhibited in the genesis of this conflict, are blatantly ignored. Such omissions, Professor Fitzsimons suggested, lead to a serious misunderstanding of the historical process by blotting out the place of "short-term statesmanship" in the great chain of history.

In contrast to his strictures against Toynbee's view of much of American history, Professor Fitzsimons welcomed his stimulating account of the Great Plains as a frontier. It was significantly noted, however, that in this instance Toynbee was abreast of the best of current scholarship which was not true when he dealt with other aspects of American history. Professor Fitzsimons believes that Toynbee's command of American history gained in range and depth when he came to consider her future in the present divided world. But here too, Professor Fitzsimons disputed Toynbee's view of the American character and his implied assumption, and perhaps anticipation, that the middle classes face inevitable extinction at the hands of the American industrial system.

In the final section of his paper, discussing the implications of Toynbee's abbreviated treatment of American history, Professor Fitzsimons argued that this thinness cannot be excused by pointing out the larger scope of Toynbee's universal history. He asked if such an explanation is not really an attempt to avoid facing the possibility that Toynbee's generalizations are insufficiently supported when history is mishandled in order to keep the lines of his grand construction intact. What Professor Fitzsimons particularly objected to was the sacrifice of the uniqueness of peoples and institutions in order to write good universal history. Furthermore Professor Fitzsimons de-

manded to know if the universal historian might at least be expected to bring a really masterful historical knowledge to those illustrations he chooses of his own free will. The conclusion which he felt obliged to draw, notwithstanding his deference to the scope of Toynbee's endeavor, was that Toynbee's construction of analogies and points of synthesis was made not by means of a developed sense of distinction but by an avoidance of that intellectual virtue.

Yet despite the severity of his judgments, Professor Fitzsimons added his tribute to Toynbee's work, lauding him for his scholarly "confrontation" of the problems of the century, for the illuminating insights which he brings on every page to his reader and finally for the obligation which the *Study* places upon the scholarly world to distinguish the valid interrelationships between the facts of history, philosophy, theology and sociology as they are joined in actuality and in analysis.

Professor Eric Voegelin, of Louisiana State University, read the first paper in the Saturday morning session. His original topic had been "The Historical Validity of Toynbee's Approach to Universal States," but he believed that this problem, or key-symbol, could be understood only after an examination of the levels and stages of inquiry which make up Toynbee's entire work. He devoted his paper, therefore, to tracing the development of Toynbee's *Study* conceived "in the classical sense of a *zetema,* a search for truth both cognitive and existential." While Professor Hardy had observed that some of Toynbee's terms undergo a sort of sea change in the course of a long intellectual voyage, Professor Voegelin was of the opinion that the changes in Toynbee's definitions are the critically significant moments in his *Study*. These changes in definitions are to be seen, he argued, as highly important steps in the growth of Toynbee's understanding of his problems, wherein he successively incorporates the truth he has achieved and establishes the next level on which he must operate. Professor Voegelin warned that it would be superficial and misleading to pit the various definitions of Toynbee against one another, for in Toynbee's history they are moved along in a dialectical fashion imitating his predecessor Plato's search for ultimate truth.

In the first stage of his *zetema,* Toynbee was seen as successfully establishing, as the goal of history, civilizations as "the intelligible fields of historical study." Professor Voegelin believes that here Toynbee, operating in the wake of Eduard Meyer, had reached a position which would effectively balk any return to earlier defini-

tions of the historian's goal. In the subsequent stages of his *zetema,* he saw Toynbee becoming increasingly harried by the implicit conclusions of his own findings. Thus in the course of his work Toynbee reaches the dramatic conclusion that civilizations are themselves not the intelligible fields of historical study, but the phenomena which they house, Universal Churches, Universal States, Heroic Ages. The pinnacle is the creation of Universal Churches. This is the stage reached by Toynbee, though the implications were yet obscurely comprehended, in the concluding sections of his sixth volume published in 1939. Professor Voegelin believes that when faced with this break in his original plan, Toynbee experienced grave difficulties because he could not successfully either complete the plans for what was now a rejected work (volumes one to six) or devise a completely original frame for volumes seven to ten, freed from the weight of the earlier schema.

From this viewpoint, Voegelin suggested that the first part of Toynbee's work, the initial six volumes, is to be regarded as the history of civilizations, a profane history, while the second part, volumes seven to ten, are devoted to the history of religion, with Toynbee approaching the writing of a "sacred history." Professor Voegelin then argued that logically Toynbee's reasoning should have led him to an Augustinian view of history. Here, however, Toynbee deliberately obscured his own problem. This is the only plausible explanation which Professor Voegelin could give for Toynbee's strange invitation to his friend, Mr. Martin Wright, to trace, for the *Study,* the path to truth through Faith and theology and then for his almost discourteous dismissal of this way as intellectually inferior to the Platonic flight of "Reason" indiscernably joined to "intuition." Professor Voegelin feels that Toynbee legitimately opens himself to the criticism that he was flaunting "a dilettantism with regard to questions of reason and revelation, philosophy and religion, metaphysics and theology, intuition and science, as well as communication that could easily be overcome by anybody who wanted to overcome it."

Following this survey of Toynbee's *zetema,* Professor Voegelin concluded with some observations on the validity of Toynbee's view of Universal States. He complimented Toynbee for brilliantly continuing, on the descriptive level, the work of Eduard Meyer. He found, however, that the value and reliability of Toynbee's symbol "Universal State" lessen as his history becomes confounded in his unresolved dilemma to write a profane or sacred history. Because

of this indecision, Professor Voegelin believes that Toynbee deprived his exposition of Universal States of the intellectually rounded and completed historical treatment which he had originally promised in his *Study.*

The final paper of the symposium was Professor Oscar Halecki's, of Fordham University, on "The Validity of Toynbee's Conception of the Prospects of Western Civilization." Professor Halecki began by disagreeing with the importance attached to specific factual and analogical errors in Toynbee's history. He observed that for Toynbee all analysis and comparison remain approximations and possibilities, never certainties. In his opinion, this is the greatness of Toynbee, his opposition to determinism in any fashion.

Professor Halecki found it difficult, however, to follow Toynbee in his deliberate refusal to consider Europe as an historical entity generic to Western civilization and to consider this civilization as characteristically Christian. On this much debated question, he drew attention to an historian whose vast canvas presents the opposite emphasis to Toynbee's, the Swiss historian, Gonzague de Reynold. It was not Professor Halecki's intention to identify Christianity with Western civilization, and he quoted Pope Pius XII's warning against such an error in the Pontiff's address to the recent Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences. Professor Halecki's argument was that "Our civilization, by whatever name it might be called, would lose its soul and be reduced to merely a political and economic community, if it ever gave up completely its Christian character."

Transferring his attention to Toynbee's prognosis of the crisis of the mid-twentieth century, centered in the tension between Russia and the United States, Professor Halecki saw implicit two possible interpretations. Both these views of the prospects for the future hinged upon Toynbee's previously disputed concept of Western civilization. If Russia is considered outside Western civilization, then the present crisis, as a conflict between two societies, offers according to all previous examples in Toynbee's history, a favorable chance of success for the West. If, however, Professor Halecki observed, Russia is seen as inside Western civilization, as she is according to Toynbee, then following his accumulated historical wisdom, the prospects for the West's salvation are much less fortunate.

Faced with these alternative suggestions for the future, Professor Halecki believes that the reader of Toynbee's history is not forced to struggle unaided to a resolution of either prospect. For he noted

that the distinguishing feature of the *Study* is that Toynbee is willing to postulate the final problems on a plane above that of the historical and thus, in one sense, to leave the ground he has so carefully surveyed in his ten volumes. Here Professor Halecki expressed his opinion that Toynbee, by ultimately defining the future as a problem to be solved in the spiritual order, truly exalts his work. There can be no quarrel with Toynbee's invitation to the West to continue its spiritual odyssey, the heart of its history. Professor Halecki observed finally that the animus directed toward Toynbee in Soviet and Satellite academic circles seems to indicate that in his prescription for the West, he has most certainly disturbed its present unrelenting foes.

The commentators in their respective order, omitting the luncheon paper, were John D. McKian, Loyola University; Reverend John A. Kemp., S.J., Loyola University; J. W. Swain, University of Illinois; Reverend John L. McKenzie, S.J., West Baden College; Roman Smal-Stocki, Marquette University; Marshall Smelser, University of Notre Dame; Reverend Paul A. Woelfl, S.J., Loyola University; Richard M. Brace, Northwestern University.

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Filibustering Aboard The *Three Friends*

Early in the damp gray dawn of February 28, 1895, the newsboys in the United States shrilly announced that a revolution had broken out in Cuba and readers were apprised of the fact that still another revolt against the decaying authority of royal Spain had begun. Spanish officials hastily assured the world that the incident was unimportant, while Spain's minister in Washington proclaimed the collapse of the movement, announcing that the insurrectionists were mere bandits already put to flight.[1]

Cubans in communities along the Atlantic coast and in Florida interpreted the news differently. Hoarse shouts of joy and jubilant hosannas reverberated through the Cuban districts. There was wild rejoicing among the cigar workers in Tampa's Ybor City. Men and women poured into the streets, joyously singing nationalistic songs, amid cries of "Viva la Cuba" and the firing of pistols and rifles. That evening over seven thousand people held a mass meeting in Tampa, listened to martial speeches and generously contributed money and jewelry when a collection was made.[2]

News that the independence movement had not collapsed but was spreading came with dramatic suddenness. American newspapers filled their front pages with startling headlines and detailed stories of the fighting. William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer vied with each other in detailing the extent of atrocities and the horrors inflicted by the Spanish military upon the downtrodden Cuban peasants. A new chapter in the history of the American people was opening; these events presaged our war with Spain.

The last years of the nineteenth century revealed a new national self-consciousness stirring excitedly in the hearts of the American people. The western frontier had dissolved irretrievably into the past, at the same time that there was developing a mighty industrial economy, supplying vast power and wealth to the country. The nation found that in almost all directions its boundary lines had reached the oceans, but unfortunately, before its enormous land hunger had been satisfied. Politicians, newspaper editors, business-

1 Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit*, Cambridge, 1931, 1.
2 *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 27, 1895.

men and plain citizens approached a new understanding of manifest destiny. That the American flag should wave over all the lands from the icy wastes of the Arctic to the green jungles of Panama and even beyond no longer seemed just a dream.

Lying almost within sight of the Florida Keys and occupying a strategic position among the West Indian islands, Cuba, for over a century, had been an object of peculiar interest and concern to the United States. Jefferson had coveted the island, and John Quincy Adams had predicted that the laws of political gravitation would inevitably draw it into the American Union.[3] Southern politicians before the Civil War looked longingly at Cuba in their desire to increase the number of slave states. Business men had steadily increased their investments in the island so that by the time of the insurrection Americans owned over $50,000,000 worth of property there, and commercial transactions totalled more than $100,000,000 annually.[4]

Political unrest at home and the excellent economic opportunities which the United States seemed to offer encouraged large numbers of Cubans to settle in this country during the nineteenth century. Good sized Cuban communities grew up in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West. Under skilled political leadership these Cubans organized themselves into juntas, a kind of political club, and many agreed to contribute one-tenth or more of their yearly earnings toward the Cuban cause. In 1868 over one hundred forty juntas were in operation in the Western Hemisphere and in Europe.[5] During the 1890's sixty-one such clubs met regularly in Key West and fifteen in Tampa.[6]

Directed by a remarkable New York Cuban, José Julián Marti, the juntas had been forged into a Revolutionary Party in 1891 with headquarters in New York. The purpose of the Party was to evolve a single effective instrument for revolution; its major projects were to whip up American sympathy for the Cuban cause and to find funds and the means of transporting armaments, medical supplies and equipment, food, and patriots to the island. The New York junta operated almost like a foreign embassy. It received patriotic

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[3] Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rise of the New West, 1819–1829*, New York, 1906, 211.

[4] John H. Latané, *America As A World Power, 1897–1907*, New York, 1907, 7.

[5] Richard V. Rickenbach, "A History of Filibustering From Florida to Cuba, 1895–1898," (unpublished MA thesis, University of Florida, 1948), 10.

[6] *Ibid.*, 13.

loans, bought ships, planned and began military expeditions to be used against Spain, issued bonds, and carried on official correspondence.[7] It had over a million dollars in its treasury in 1895.[8]

It is always difficult to sell a dream, and so it was with Cuban independence. When hostilities began the Revolutionary government forbade the natives to produce anything of value for Spain, upon penalty of having their crops burned and their property destroyed.[9] Some few sugar planters were exempt from these harsh decrees provided they agreed to pay in advance a tax of twenty to forty cents per sack of their estimated harvest. The junta treasury received nearly a half million dollars from this source.[10] Americans contributed varying sums of money, including José A. Huau of Jacksonville who donated $150,000 to the cause.[11] One lady in Paris made an anonymous gift of $120,000,[12] and the Cubans in that city raised another $100,000.[13] But the needs were great and the junta treasury was never able to meet all the demands that were made upon it.

With money it was a relatively simple matter to purchase the necessary military supplies in the United States. To transport such material, however, was a problem fraught with almost insurmountable difficulties and hardship, and, as later events proved, great danger. With Spain and the United States at peace it was impossible to use regular transport facilities. There was no other choice but to engage American ship captains who would be willing to risk filibustering expeditions, either aboard their own vessels or such vessels leased or purchased for that purpose by the junta.

Florida's proximity to Cuba, her long seacoast, and the ease with which a vessel could slip out from any one of a thousand Florida inlets, bays, and rivers, afforded excellent facilities for filibustering. The Florida Keys—numerous small, wooded islands, sand bars, and rocks, extending finger-like into the Gulf of Mexico—lay about a hundred miles north across the open sea from the islands of Cuba. Their narrow, crooked channels running into innumerable

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[7] Calderon Carlisle, *Report to the Spanish Legation,* Washington, 1896, I, 26.

[8] E. J. Benton, *International Law and Diplomacy in the Spanish-American War,* Baltimore, 1908, 25.

[9] Carlisle, *Report,* II, 39.

[10] *Senate Document 166,* 54th Cong., 2nd Sess., 257.

[11] H. S. Rubens, *Liberty, The Story of Cuba,* New York, 1932, 280.

[12] *Ibid.,* 282. The donor's name was later revealed as Marta Abreu.

[13] H. S. Rubens, "The Insurgent Government in Cuba," *The North American Review,* LCXVI (May, 1898), 563.

sand bars and treacherous, jagged reefs would make it difficult for revenue cutters to catch the small, swift filibustering vessels carrying contraband.

Between 1895 and 1898 seventy-one filibustering expeditions prepared to use American ports as a base for their operations. Although Spain had available in Cuba sixty-seven ships and an army of some two hundred thousand men she was able to stop only five of these illegal voyages.[14] The American navy, coast guard, and revenue cutter service prevented another thirty-three from safely reaching the island.[15] The Spaniards, nonetheless, were bitterly unappreciative of these efforts, and repeatedly charged, with a considerble measure of truth, that the revolt had been carefully planned in the United States and that it was being kept alive largely with American aid.[16]

It was later revealed that Cuban hostilities had been timed to begin with the arrival of a filibustering expedition from Fernandina.[17] Two steam yachts, *Amadis* and *Lagonda,* and a small steamship, *Baracoa,* had been chartered and loaded with a huge quantity of military equipment. A number of patriots, including Marti, were scheduled to go aboard just before the vessels sailed. A Spanish spy in Fernandina, suspicious of loading activities, alerted his embassy who in turn notified the State Department. The suspected filibusters were carefully watched and then on March 1, they were seized by American revenue agents.[18] Marti, who had been hiding in a Jacksonville hotel, was warned of the seizure in time and he returned to New York.

The leaders of the Cuban junta in Florida were José Dolores Poyo of Key West, Fernando Fiquerdo of Tampa and José A. Huau and his nephew, Alphonso Fritot of Jacksonville.[19] Huau was a cigar manufacturer and operated a drug and cigar store which served as a clearing house of most of the filibustering expeditions. Alphonso Fritot was the joint passenger and freight agent for all

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14 French E. Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain,* New York, 1909, 418.

15 J. B. Moore, *A Digest of International Law,* Washington, 1906, VI, 785.

16 *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States,* H. of Rep., 54th Cong., 1st Sess., Doc. No. 1, Pt. 2, 1137–1207; Orestes Ferrara, *The Last Spanish War,* New York, 1937, 36.

17 Rickenbach, "History of Filibustering," 23.

18 Carlisle, *Report,* I, 28.

19 Rickenbach, "History of Filibustering," 27.

railroads running into Jacksonville.[20] He was able, therefore, to secure private railroad cars and even special trains which he used to aid the Cuban cause. On more than one occasion the private railroad car of J. R. Parrott, one of Henry M. Flagler's closest business associates, was used to haul Cuban revolutionists from one Florida port to another.

Of the several ships that were used for filibustering none were so famous as the *Three Friends.* The captain of the steamer was the colorful Napoleon Bonaparte Broward who became governor of Florida in 1905 and whose liberalism and progressivism helped to shape the course of twentieth century Florida politics. Napoleon Broward and two partners formed a tugging company in 1895 and drew up plans to build a powerful sea-going tug to be used principally for towing and wrecking along the Florida Keys and to carry freight between Jacksonville, Miami and Nassau.[21] Costing $40,000 and named *Three Friends* in honor of her triple ownership,[22] the vessel was dubbed the "fastest tug in the South."[23] Construction began February 2, 1895, just a few weeks before hostilities started in Cuba. It was this revolution which was to give the *Three Friends* and her captain a national reputation and a firm place in the hearts and history books of Cubans. And Broward's activities in turn were to provide still another important reason for the growing animosity between the United States and Spain.

Broward was a close personal friend of José Huau and during the summer and fall of 1895, while the *Three Friends* was under construction Huau approached him about the possibility of becoming a filibuster.[24] The junta was willing to pay Broward $10,000 plus all expenses, including the salary of the crew, to carry a cargo of munitions and other supplies and to transport some of the revolutionary leaders to Cuba. Broward and his associates realized that filibustering was extremely dangerous and without question they

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[20] Horace Smith, *A Captain Unafraid, The Strange Adventures of Dynamite Johnny O'Brien,* New York, 1912, 116.

[21] Ralph D. Paine, "From Deck Hand to Governor: The Picturesque Career of Napoleon Broward," *Everybody's Magazine,* XX (February, 1909), 191.

[22] Napoleon B. Broward, "Filibustering in Florida," *The Florida Life* (November, 1897).

[23] *Florida Times-Union,* February 3, 1895.

[24] Napoleon B. Broward, *Napoleon B. Broward, Candidate for Governor of Florida, Autobiography, Platform, Letter and Short Story of the Steamer "Three Friends," and a Filibustering Trip to Cuba,* Jacksonville, 1904, 26. Henceforth to be referred to in the notes as *Autobiography.*

had read President Cleveland's proclamation which promised arrest and prosecution for anyone "accepting or exercising commissions for warlike service against Spain, by enlistment or procuring others to enlist for such service, by fitting out, or arming, or procuring to be fitted out any armed ships of war for such service, or by augmenting the force of any ship of war engaged in such service in a port of the United States."[25] However, with all these dangers, Broward also knew that filibustering was a lucrative business. He gave serious consideration to the junta's offers.

The *Three Friends,* completed late in December, 1895, sailed January 14 on her maiden voyage to Nassua. She carried flour and fertilizer and was supposed to pick up additional cargo at Miami. For some reason the freight shipments at Miami were not ready and the vessel arrived at Nassua with only about half her capacity load. This first voyage was not financially successful. To make matters worse, when the vessel returned to Jacksonville certain expected towing and wrecking contracts did not materialize.[26] Broward and his partners were understandably concerned over their heavy investment in the *Three Friends.*

Meanwhile the junta was finding it increasingly difficult to arrange filibustering expeditions without detection. American coast guard cutters had stopped a number of such voyages, and ship captains found themselves and their boats enmeshed in legal entanglements. Although American public opinion backed these efforts to aid the Cuban cause, filibustering risks were very great. Nonetheless, in February, 1896, Broward signed a contract to carry a group of patriots to the island and to tow war supplies loaded on the schooner *Stephen R. Mallory.*[27] An armed expedition, according to the junta's interpretation of international law, consisted of both arms and men on the same boat. If Broward's boat carried the men, and if the military supplies were on board another vessel, neither, according to this interpretation, could be labelled "armed expeditions," even though one vessel was towing the other. As it later turned out American courts did not go along with this interpretation.

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[25] James D. Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1905,* Washington, 1907, IX, 591; Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage,* New York, 1932, 714.

[26] Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat,* Gainesville, 1950, 100.

[27] *Autobiography,* 28.

General Enrique Collaze and his staff were hiding out in Tampa. They had to find a way to get into Jacksonville and aboard the *Three Friends* without being detected. That was going to be difficult since there were approximately twenty Spanish detectives with orders to prevent just such a move from taking place. Meanwhile there were also sixty-five Cubans on board the *Ardell,* a small schooner anchored in the Florida Keys, waiting near Hawk Channel to rendezvous with the *Three Frends.*[28]

One evening, General Collaze and members of his staff went for a drive into the Tampa suburbs. Sometime during the drive, and under cover of darkness, Collaze was able to leave his carriage, while someone disguised to to look like the General took his place. Later that night, Collaze's stand-in boarded a vessel bound for Key West. The detectives also came aboard and it was not until the vessel docked two days later that they realized that they had been outwitted. Collaze himself had boarded a train at Plant City and with Alphonse Fritot's cooperation had got off in the railroad yards a few miles outside of Jacksonville. Driven into town in a closed carriage he was hidden in the attic of the home of Cuban sympathizers.

The *Stephen R. Mallory,* meanwhile, on February 29, had loaded its military supplies at Cedar Key and in the teeth of a Gulf storm sailed for the Keys. Unfortunately another filibustering vessel carrying other military supplies headed for the same rendezvous was overhauled by the revenue cutter *McLane,* on patrol duty in the Gulf, and was forced into Tampa harbor. A cursory inspection revealed a large number of wooden packing cases and boxes marked "groceries," addressed to a well-known Jacksonville wholesale firm. No attempt was made to find out why these "groceries" were on a boat in the Gulf of Mexico and luckily none of the boxes was pried open.[29] Without any additional delay they were shipped by rail to Jacksonville and stored in a dockside warehouse. On the night of March 11th, the *Three Friends* tied up near the warehouse at the foot of Newman Street and the "groceries" were brought aboard. These "groceries" included nothing so prosaic as baked beans, sardines, canned beef, or ham, but rather two medium-size, rapid-firing field cannon, thirty-five hundred rifles, five hundred

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[28] *Ibid.*, 30. A slightly different account of this incident was reported by the *Daily Florida Citizen* (Jacksonville), March 18, 1896.
[29] *Ibid.*, 29–30.

machetes, three hundred thousand rounds of Winchester and Remington cartridges, one million repriming caps, five hundred pounds of dynamite, plus a large quantity of clothing and medicines.[30] There were so many "grocery" cases hauled aboard the *Three Friends* that Captain Broward wondered if there would be room to carry his "passengers."

In order to divert suspicion, Broward had told everyone at the Jacksonville port that he had gotten a salvage and towing job at West Palm Beach and that the equipment that he had put aboard was for that purpose. Luck was with Broward that evening. Not only was the *Boutwell,* the only revenue cutter in the area, in drydock for repairs, but it was a dark and stormy night. Still Broward did not take any chances. After he had the goods aboard the *Three Friends* he quietly moved down river and by midnight had his "passengers" aboard. Then the engineer ordered full speed ahead, and the *Three Friends* sailed across the river bar and into the Atlantic, on her first filibustering adventure. A fisherman near the bar at the time reported that the wash from the ship was so violent that it threw a half dozen small fishing boats up on the bank. When the captain of the revenue cutter later questioned another fisherman he was told: "Some damned boat passed here, throwing my boat up on the platform; and if she kept on at the same rate of speed she will now have reached a place too — — hot for you to catch her in."[31]

In the late afternoon of the second day out of Jacksonville the *Three Friends* entered Hawk Channel off Cape Florida and sighted the *Stephen R. Mallory* anchored near Elliot's Key. The *Ardell,* carrying sixty-five Cubans had not yet hove into sight. Presumably it was en route. On the chance that it was hidden behind a reef, small boats from the *Three Friends* and *Stephen R. Mallory* searched for the *Ardell* throughout the day and most of the following day. Then just before sunset the lookout on the *Three Friends* spotted the *Ardell* approaching from the starboard side.

Captain Broward had planned to load the Cubans aboard his vessel, grapple the *Stephen R. Mallory* and move toward the Cuban coast that very night. A rising wind and a rough sea, however, interfered with his plans. During the night the weather got worse, and

30 *Daily Florida Citizen,* March 18, 1896.
31 *Autobiography,* 31. (Expletives deleted.)

by morning a gale threatened. Meanwhile time was running out. Broward knew that the coast guard had likely sounded a general alarm and that Spanish gunboats and American navy and coast guard cruisers were combing the area. It was probable also that the Cuban lookouts on the island might think that plans had miscarried and for security reasons could have moved back into the interior. To complicate matters even more, Broward was apprised of the fact that the captain of the *Stephen R. Mallory* was critcally ill and was urgently in need of medical aid. Broward instructed the engineer of the vessel to proceed to Indian Key, and there, protected somewhat from the rough weather, he ordered her cargo loaded aboard his own vessel. Cubans and Americans worked side by side all night to complete this perilous job. Just before dawn the last packing case had been brought alongside and the *Stephen R. Mallory* departed for Key West.[32]

The *Three Friends,* heavily overloaded, was already five days out of Jacksonville. Broward, without further delay, steamed a course due south, heading past Alligator Reef into the open ocean. At eleven o'clock that morning sighting Double-Headed Shot Key he knew that Cuba was only a few hours away. A heavy fog and rain helped obscure the small tug as it plied its way through the mountainous waves. Broward was fearful, however, that this same cover might enable an American patrol boat to come upon him without warning, and he ordered the Cubans to hide as well as they could between the packing cases.

Unable to find the small schooner near Salt Key which usually escorted filbusters to shore, Broward set his course for the coast of Cuba near Varadero on the Península de Icacos. According to a prearranged agreement, Santos, the Cuban pilot, was to take over at this point and steer the vessel to its landing place. Rain had cut visibility almost to zero. Once the *Three Friends* accidentally moved so close into shore that her bow was in the shallow breakers where the lead registered only "twenty-four feet." Luckily for them the vessel was not grounded and before there was any damage the pilot maneuvered her back into deep water.[33]

Broward sent a reconaissance party, including General Vasques, Charles Silva, and five other Cubans, ashore to locate their position

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[32] *Ibid.*, 33–35.
[33] *Ibid.*, 36.

definitely. His orders were not properly understood, and before the scout boat had returned, a half dozen smaller surf boats, life boats and rafts had been loaded with packing cases and ten Cubans each and had been put over the side. Most of these were already in the surf close to shore when the lookouts reported that the *Three Friends* was anchored only a few hundred yards from a Spanish fort; moreover, there was a small gunboat in the area. The pilot obviously had miscalculated his position and was over two miles from the proper landing place.

Two of the small boats coming into shore were swamped with water while a raft was wrecked on a coral reef. Fearing an attack from the fort, the Cubans already ashore tried to bury the munitions in the soft beach sand. Those still aboard wondered whether they should go ashore, but Broward knew that it would be impossible to land them anywhere else without being detected. He convinced the Cubans that even though they might be outnumbered they had sufficient military equipment to capture the fort. A few of the Cubans jumping overboard swam ashore, but the remainder were ferried to land by the crew members. Just as the crew began rowing back to the *Three Friends* searchlights from the Spanish gunboat beamed out over the white beach silhouetting the whole scene. Immediately Spanish bullets ricocheted along the ground; guns from the fort started firing at the *Three Friends*. Exploding shells overturned two of the rafts and one landed close enough to the ship to threaten to capsize it. Whining bullets strafed the Cubans on the beach, as they in turn fired on both the gunboat and the fort. Broward, meanwhile, had noticed the lights from another Spanish gunboat off his port bow.

Determined to get all of his own men back on board, he hoisted up the last two boats, just as the guns from the second Spanish vessel opened fire. The anchor cables were quickly cut and the *Three Friends* moved out. The race was on. Every crew member knew the story of Captain Fry and his men on the ill-fated filibuster *Virginius*. They recalled how her men had been executed in Santiago, and they knew that a similar fate threatened if they should fall into the hands of Weyler or his forces.[34]

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[34] Rickenbach, "History of Filibustering," 11–12; Chadwick, *United States and Spain*, 316; John H. Latané, "Intervention of the United States in Cuba," *The North American Reveiw*, LCXVI (March, 1898), 355.

The *Three Friends,* traveling in a northeasterly direction, ran parallel to the coast line, holding her course on the inside rim of the bay. The Spanish vessel, firing wildly, moved down upon the filibuster, obviously planing to ram her. Broward knew that if that happened his boat would sink, and what the loss of life would be he dared not predict.

Only a few hundred yards separated the two boats when Broward remembered the huge pile of fat pine-wood knots and the large barrel of greasy bacon rinds on deck. He ordered some of the crew to jam as many of the logs into the wood-burning furnaces as possible, while the others set the bacon rinds afire. Within seconds black clouds of smoke bloomed out around the vessel. Aware of the favorable wind conditions, Broward put his wheel hard astarboard, changed his course sharply, and headed west. The wind blew heavy smoke back into the bay. The Spaniard, believing his adversary had doubled on her track, turned his own bow back in toward the bay. Broward's ruse had worked.. As the Spaniard sailed into the bay, he steamed out and set a course for the open sea. In another moment, the *Three Friends* was swallowed up in darkness, rain and bacon smoke. The following morning her crew berthed her safely in Key West harbor.[35]

Detailed accounts of the daring voyage filled newspapers throughout the country. The Spanish supplied most of the information, inadvertently admitting their own ineptness. When questioned Broward jovially denied knowing anything about any filibustering voyage, asserting that he had been busy in south Florida all the time on a towing and salvage contract. All of his crew backed up this story. Many a newspaper editor, tongue in cheek, printed this explanation as factual.[36]

Notwithstanding the Spanish protests and the vigilance of the American Navy and Coast Guard, the *Three Friends* made a total of eight successful filibustering trips to Cuba. In an effort to stop such activities President Cleveland, in July, 1896, issued a second and even more determined proclamation, pointing out that this country was neutral and warning that filibusters would be severely dealt with. In Cuba, General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, bitterly protested the filibustering voyages and charged again that without

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[35] *Autobiography,* 39.
[36] *Florida Times-Union,* March 23, 1896.

American aid, Cuba's insurrection would be easily crushed. He announced that he was offering a reward of twenty-five thousand dollars for the capture of any filibustering captain, dead or alive, or any filibustering vessel.[37] Captain Broward and others like him now had a price on their heads.

The *Three Friends* incurred her greatest risk on her last voyage. Because of business reasons Broward could not command his tug, and Captain "Dynamite" Johnny O'Brien was placed in charge. O'Brien had earned his colorful nickname after he had transported some sixty tons of dynamite from New York to Central America. For some reason the cargo had not been packed tightly nor had its wooden cases been tied. Rough weather was experienced throughout the voyage, and the dynamite boxes kept shifting from one part of the hold to the other. To climax the danger, "Dynamite" sailed through a severe electrical storm in the Caribbean without mishap.[38]

Port officials in Jacksonville and the Spanish detectives were constantly suspicious of the *Three Friends'* activities. Almost every time her engines were steamed up they suspected preparations for another filibustering voyage. Broward, however, worked out a clever plan to divert suspicion from his steamer. Late on a rainy afternoon, December 13, 1896, a watchman ceremoniously placed a large sign reading "Positively No Admittance" near the gangplank of the *Commodore,* another well-known filibustering vessel. There seemed to be a buzz of activity on board the *Commodore,* as though something was about to happen. Earlier in the day, two freight cars, loaded with wooden cases, which the Spanish spies were certain contained guns, had been moved to the railroad tracks near the *Commodore's* dock. The fact that a Philadelphia newspaper a few days before had reported the rumor that a new arms shipment was enroute to Jacksonville gave credence to the suspicions of the Spanish.

That evening when the regular train from Tampa arrived, seventy-two Cubans got off. They said that they were cigar workers, enroute to Thomasville, Georgia, but they made a point of asking the whereabouts of the *Commodore* before dispersing into the bars along the waterfront. Suspicion was now completely diverted from the *Three Friends* while the watch on the *Commodore* was redoubled.

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37 Proctor, *Broward,* 122.
38 Smith, *A Captain Unafraid,* 47–56.

The *Three Friends,* under the command of O'Brien, quietly cleared port and sailed up the coast to Fernandina.

Broward was already in Fernandina, in fact he was playing poker with George L. Baltzell, the collector of the port, when the *Three Friends* came into harbor. Baltzell had often boasted that no filibustering expedition had sailed from Fernandina since he was appointed collecter; he was determined to ferret out any plans for such illegal operations. Knowing about the activities that were going on at that very moment, Broward undoubtedly had to keep a very good "poker face."[39]

In Jacksonville, meanwhile, the Cuban "cigar workers" had quietly assembled at a prearranged spot, purportedly to board the train for Georgia. The car in which they were riding, however, was switched under Fritot's orders to Yulee, Florida, just north of Jacksonville. There on a siding were two freight cars loaded with a thousand rifles, a Hotchkiss gun, five hundred thousand cartridges, and a large store of dynamite and small arms.[40] After the telegraph wires to Jacksonville were cut, the two cars were hitched onto the special train that moved on to Fernandina. It was parked on a trestle to which the *Three Friends* was moored, and without further delay the cargo of "condensed milk," "codfish," "breakfast bacon," and "prime lard," was transferred to the tug.[41] Ralph D. Paine, the newspaper correspondent who was covering the Cuban revolt for the *New York American* came aboard with the other "passengers." The *Three Friends* promptly put out to sea. Paine, at the time, was carrying the gem encrusted, two thousand dollar sword that William Randolph Hearst was sending to General Máximo Gómez on behalf of the American people.[42]

The Jacksonville port officials began to wonder if they had been hoodwinked when morning revealed that the *Commodore* had not moved. A quick check on the whereabouts of the *Three Friends* confirmed their suspicions that another filibustering voyage had started. The news was telegraphed to Washington, after the wires had been repaired, and orders were transmitted to the *Newark, Raleigh, McLane, Winona,* and *Forward* and all other cruisers and

39 Rickenbach, "History of Filibustering," 73.
40 Smith, *A Captain Unafraid,* 141–143.
41 Ralph D. Paine, *Roads of Adventure,* Boston, 1925, 70; *Florida Times-Union,* December 14, 1896.
42 Paine, *Roads of Adventure,* 63.

patrol boats in southern waters to be on the lookout for the *Three Friends.*[43]

The filibustering steamer experienced rough weather en route to Cuba. A thick, gray fog blanketed the sea, which was fortunate for the adventurers since it helped hide them from the *Newark* and *Raleigh* which they had sighted near the Keys. Two Coast Guard patrol boats were eluded just east of Key West. On the morning of December 19th, the *Three Friends* was some fifteen miles off the coast of Cienfuegos, Cuba, where it lay offshore until early evening. When it was dark enough Captain O'Brien maneuvered the tug closer to the island so that he could detect the signal that he was watching for. When a light on shore winked off and on twice, O'Brien maneuvered closer to the beach where the supplies were to be unloaded. The fog had lifted somewhat, which increased the dangers of detection, but since the rain was falling O'Brien counted on that to help muffle the sounds of unloading. Just then a Spanish patrol boat was sighted, showing no lights, about two miles from shore. O'Brien promptly reversed his course and headed for open water. The patrol boat gained considerably on the *Three Friends,* until only a mile of water separated the two vessels. Then the Spaniards began firing one pound shells. The first shots fell short but the Spaniards' aim threatened to improve momentarily. At the same time two other Spanish boats were sighted, east and west, moving into position to head off the little tug.

There was a twelve-pound Hotchkiss gun on the bow of the *Three Friends* and O'Brien ordered it loaded and fired. In order to bring the gun to bear upon the Spanish gunboat, the *Three Friends* had to swing around three or four points, exposing her broadside and thus giving the Spaniards a better target. The first shot fizzled, the next landed in the water, but the third shot hit the Spanish boat with a loud explosion. A direct hit! The pilot's house was torn away and the boat's steering gear was badly damaged.[44] In the excitement an old army sergeant aboard rammed the mouthpiece of a bugle into the muzzle of his Springfield and blew "Boots and Saddles" through the breech. This bugle call probably startled the Spanish on the damaged gunboat almost as much as the shells from

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[43] *Daily Florida Citizen,* December 15, 1896.

[44] Smith, *A Captain Unafraid,* 148–152. The Havana paper *La Lucha* reported the damage to the patrol boat; Rickenbach, "History of Filibustering," 77ff.

the Hotchkiss. The disabled vessel sent up flares, and the other two Spanish vessels came to her aid, which gave gave the filibuster her chance to make a dash for the safety of the Florida reefs.[45]

This adventure caused a sensation in the newspapers. A point was made of the exchange of shells between the two vessels, in view of which this incident has sometimes been called "Cuba's first naval battle."[46] From a filibustering point of view, however, it was a failure since the munitions and Cubans were still aboard the *Three Friends.* With five United States cutters and the Spanish fleet patrolling the waters it would be impossible to return immediately to Cuba and it was extremely hazardous to keep such a cargo aboard.

"Dynamite" O'Brien decided to land his cargo without further delay on a deserted reef, appropriately called No Name Key. The *Three Friends* then went on to Key West, traveling by a circuitous route, returned to Jacksonville within a few days, where he took command of the *Dauntless,* another filibustering tug owned by the Cuban junta.[47] He sailed it out of the St. Johns River, announcing that he was going south to Biscayne Bay on a salvage contract. Since the *Dauntless* carried no cargo, suspicions were not aroused. O'Brien proceeded directly to No Name Key to take aboard the Cubans and the munitions.

Loading began New Year's morning, but was suddenly interrupted by the approach of a vessel that closely resembled an American torpedo boat. The small boats that had been used to carry the cargo to the *Dauntless* quickly put back to shore. The Cubans hid in the underbrush as best they could. As it turned out this was no government vessell, but a small dispatch boat, the *Vamoose,* owned by William Randolph Hearst. Aboard was Ralph Paine, still carrying the sword, and a Cuban named Carbo. Loading resumed late that afternoon, and by the following morning the *Dauntless* was en route to Cuba. On the afternoon of January 3, O'Brien steamed his vessel into Corrientes Bay, at the extreme west end of Cuba.[48] Then the excitement started all over again.

According to O'Brien's own description the unloading was

more like a Fourth of July celebration than the secretive landing of a filibustering expedition. As we came to an anchor, I intended to give one

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45 *Florida Times-Union,* January 1, 1897.

46 *New York Herald,* December 25, 1896; Ralph D. Paine, "The Log of A Filibuster-Correspondent," *The Outing,* XLIII (November, 1903), 216.

47 Smith *A Captain Unafraid,* 152.

48 Paine, *Roads of Adventure,* 154.

short blast of the whistle to summon some of Maceo's troops, who we thought were waiting for us near the cape; but something went wrong with the siren, and it boomed its loudest for a full five minutes before we could shut it off. The *Dauntless* had a siren that would have done credit to an ocean liner, and if there were any Spanish troops or a gunboat within ten miles of us they ought to have heard it. Our nerves had hardly recovered from this shock when a careless Cuban dropped a box of dynamite on a coral reef and it exploded with a roar that started the echoes to going again. Fortunately the man with the slippery fingers was far enough away from the rest of the party so that no one else was killed.[49]

Filibustering vessels like the *Three Friends* and the *Dauntless* were constantly in trouble with the United States government. There were frequent attempts to libel and confiscate the vessels by proving that their owners and captains had violated American law. It was difficult to secure a conviction, however, because witnesses were reluctant to testify. For instance in September, 1896, the *Three Friends* were libeled in the United States Court, Southern District of Florida. At the hearing crew members were asked if the boat had ever been to sea. To a man they testified that it had not "while they were awake, and they could not account for the boat's actions while they slept." When one sailor was asked why he thought the *Three Friends* needed such a large crew, he suggested that a good-sized crew "was needed to match the resonant strength of the ship's horn."

At another hearing a crew member was asked if any passengers had been taken aboard the *Three Friends.* He said that he did not know, but that he "might have been asleep," and furthermore he did not know if the vessel had sailed near Key West, but that he "might have been asleep." He did not know who had employed him, that he "just went aboard when he heard the steamer was going to Miami to raise a wreck," and that the *Three Friends* sailed before he could get off. He further testified that he did not see any wreck, and did not know of any effort to raise a wreck, although he could have been asleep. Furthermore he did not know of any passengers coming aboard at Miami, but he might have been sleeping, and the same was true if passengers came aboard anywhere else. He admitted that he liked to sleep, but slumber seemed a predilection of all the crew members, including the captain.[50]

The highly colorful career of the *Three Friends* as a filibuster-

[49] Smith, *A Captain Unafraid,* 154–155.
[50] *Florida Times-Union,* September 29, 1896.

ing steamer ended in January, 1897. The surveillance of the United States navy and coast guard, and the watchful eye of the port officials prevented her from making any further voyages. Captain Broward received a great deal of publicity from his filibustering, nor did he fail to capitalize on this fame (or notoriety) during his successful campaign for the governorship of Florida in 1904.[51]

During the Spanish-American War the *Three Friends* was used as a dispatch boat by the *New York Herald* and the Associated Press. Ralph Paine, Stephen Crane, Edward MacCready, Sylvester Scovil, Harold Brown, and other noted newspaper correspondents sailed aboard the steamer as they covered the fighting. Long after the Spanish War, until she was destroyed in a hurricane during the latter part of the 1940's, the *Three Friends* was actively engaged in towing out of the port of Jacksonville and in salvaging wrecks along the Florida coast.

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[51] Charles R. Hughes, "The Three Friends, The Story of a Filibuster," (unpublished mss., P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida), 20.

Civilian Personnel at the Frontier Military Post (1790-1814)

Prominent among the civilians who lived on or near the early frontier post were the wives and families of military personnel. Wives of officers appeared in the northwest posts at the time of Wayne's campaign (1794–1795). Thus the wife of Major Thomas Doyle joined her husband at Fort Massac in Southern Illinois shortly after the reconstruction of that post in 1794.[1] A decade later many of the officers attached to posts in the west had their wives and families with them.[2] The traveller Ashe found the commandant at Fort Pickering living in 1806 with his attractive daughter of

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Editor's Note: This is the third of a series of studies made possible, in part, by research grants from Southern Illinois University. The documentary materials have been described in the preceding two articles published last year in MID–AMERICA by Professor Caldwell, namely, "The Frontier Army Officer, 1794–1814," in April, and "The Enlisted Soldier at the Frontier Post, 1790–1814," in October.

[1] Mrs. Doyle came as far as Louisville with the troops and joined her husband later in the year. "Journal of Benjamin Van Cleve," appendix to Mrs. M. T. Scott, "Old Fort Massac," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1903*, Springfield, 1904, 62, 64. In the same year Mrs. Isabel Pike, wife of Captain Zebulon Pike, and mother of the famous explorer, planned to join her husband in Ohio as soon as possible. Writing to the Treasury Department for funds to make her western journey, she expressed her desire "to go Down To my Husband and you Sartinly will oblidge him as Well as my Self for he has Rote for me in Three Letters to Come this fall and Not to Fale...." Mrs. Isabel Pike to Joseph Howell, 21 September, 1794, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1794, Box 5. Captain Daniel Bissell had his wife at Fort Massac as early as 1806. Testimony of Jacob Dunbaugh in Burr Trial, 21 September, 1807, *The Universal Gazette*, 8 October, 1807. See also *Cuming's Tour*, in R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, IV, Cleveland, 1904, 277.

[2] General Wilkinson had taken his wife to the lower Mississippi as early as 1799 at which time she was living at Loftus Heights. Major Thomas Cushing to Captain B. Shamburgh, 21 October, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 76; same to Captain John Wade, 1 November, 1799, *ibid.*, 81. A special guard was kept at Mrs. Wilkinson's quarters. In 1805 this lady accompanied the General to St. Louis. Another officer's wife at Loftus Heights at that time was Mrs. Isaac Guion. Same to Captain Isaac Guion, 14 July, 1799, *ibid.*, 3. At this time an officer at St. Louis, Major James Bruff, sought a delay in transferring to another post "before Mrs. Bruff lays–in...." Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 December, 1805, C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 20 vols., Washington, 1934 —, XIII, 299. Cited hereafter as "Carter." At that time Colonel Thomas Hunt brought part of his large family to the west, leaving three of his children at Detroit and six others and a niece at Fort Massac, while he and his wife made a trip to New Orleans. Same to same, 27 July, 1805, *ibid.*, 170.

sixteen, since his wife had died shortly before. The girl was the only white woman on the post.[3]

In 1807, while a prisoner at Fort Stoddert, Aaron Burr whiled away his time in part by playing chess with Frances Toulmin Gaines, wife of Captain E. P. Gaines, the post commandant.[4] In some cases, particularly in posts near older settled areas, the officers may have kept their families in town near the post.[5] Officers also might marry into local families, sometimes to their financial advantage. Such was the case of a lieutenant at Fort Stoddert, who in 1799 was married to a "French lady a Widow, with three Children, seven Negroes—& one hundred head of Cattle. . . ."[6] At Fort Dearborn (Chicago) in 1812 there were nine women and eighteen children. One of the women was the wife of Captain Nathan Heald, the commandant.[7]

Dependents of enlisted men were rationed as early as 1797 when it was ordered that children were to receive one ration per day and "a woman who suckles an infant half a ration extra but no allowance to the infant."[8] Another means of subsistence for the dependents of enlisted personnel is found in the practice of "cropping."[9] Presumably quarters were not furnished to military dependents except in emergencies. Thus Robert Wiley, a private soldier at an eastern post, was permitted to live in the barracks with his wife after his discharge because he was too poor to go home.[10]

The support of military dependants may also be studied in the Morrison Papers which record the use of anticipations on the soldier's pay to secure credit at the store of Bryan and Morrison at Kaskaskia.[11]

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[3] Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America, Performed in 1806*, London, 1808, 296–299.

[4] Thomas P. Abernethy, "Aaron Burr in Mississippi," *Journal of Southern History*, XV, No. 1, 18. Mrs. Gaines, suffering from a mortal illness, was very jealous of her husband, whom on one occasion, at least, she accused of showing undue attention to a group of visiting ladies who had come up from Mobile. When she later reproached her husband he explained the matter away by saying he had to do "the honors of the Fort." James W. Silver, *Edmund Pendleton Gaines*, New Orleans, 1949, 22.

[5] See Orders, Baton Rouge, 10 April, 1811, no pagination.

[6] Captain B. Shamburgh to Cushing, 19 July, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Received, 26–27.

[7] Thomas Forsythe to Governor of Louisiana Territory, 7 September, 1812, Carter, XVI, 262.

[8] General Orders, 3 November, 1797, Wilkinson Order Book, 95.

[9] "Cropping" refers to farming and gardening carried on by enlisted men near the military post.

[10] Secretary of War to W. C. Nicholas, 17 January, 1803, War Office, Military Book, 10 November, 1800–17 November, 1803, 415.

[11] See for example, Morrison Day Book, 5 February–14 May, 1813 (entry of March, 1813, no pagination), which records that "One of Cap-

In like manner, soldiers sometimes used their rations accounts for establishing credit, and all such cases recorded were based on "back rations" due.[12] At times dependents of soldiers also used the absent soldier's rations account for the establishment of credit at the store.[13]

The few references to wives and families of enlisted personnel at the frontier post would seem to suggest that their presence was the exception rather than the rule.[14] Most soldiers were probably single men or men who had left their families behind. Correspondence of the period reveals several cases of relatives writing to the Secretary of War trying to locate kinsmen in the army.[15] Soldiers who were discharged were sometimes not able to return home because no provision was made for furnishing their transportation. The case of the discharged soldier and his wife mentioned above is an example.[16]

Female camp followers made up another group of women normally attached to the military post of this period. The presence

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tain Walker Shores Compy a monkey faced fellow sold his pay & recd the amt and did not give us the certificate—the service from 28 May to the 28 June." The clerk had failed to take the soldier's certificate, which left him no evidence for presenting a claim against the man's pay! The Morrison Papers are now in the Chester Public Library, Chester, Illinois.

[12] A few examples from many arising during the War of 1812 may be cited. Thus Daniel Bilderback, a soldier in Captain William Boone's Company stationed at Sainte Geneviève (in Louisiana Territory), was given credit at the Morrison Store on 28 June, 1813, for $6.12½ "By the back Rations due him...." Likewise on 7 July, 1813, John Young of the same company bought some calico cloth and a silk handkerchief and was credited for $3.12½ "by his back Rations in Captn Boons Company." Morrison Day Book, 21 May, 1813–3 September, 1814, no pagination.

[13] Thus on 9 July, 1813, Erne Godare bought a hat at the Morrison Store for $6.00 and was credited for this amount "by his Fathers Rations and his own (?)." In August, 1813, Joseph French bought $10.87½ worth of merchandise for which he was credited as follows: on his own back rations, $2.34; "By Levi French order for Back Rations," $2.94; "By Samuel French [sic] order for Back Rations," $2.94. *Ibid.*, entries as dated.

[14] Disciplinary cases refer to soldiers' wives at times, but such instances are rare. In 1810 a man was convicted of "suffering his wife to bring whiskey into the barracks" at Cantonment Washington, for which he got fifteen lashes. Orders, Cantonment Washington, 30 July, 1810, no pagination. At the same post a second man was convicted for maltreating his wife while drunk (tearing her clothes), for which he was confined to the camp for three months and denied his whiskey ration for one month. *Ibid.*, 4 August, 1810.

[15] See, for example, Secretary of War to Thomas H. Dawson, 25 May, 1804, War Office, Military Book, 17 November, 1803–28 February, 1807, 104. The person sought here was James Bittle, a Massac soldier.

[16] Such cases were said to be numerous and the Secretary of War was of the opinion that aid should be given to such persons, either by the Federal Government or by the State of which the man was a citizen. Secretary of War to W. C. Nicholas, 17 January, 1803, *loc. cit.*, 415. Congressmen sometimes were asked to secure aid for these persons.

of these persons was provided for by the regular establishment which assigned four women to each company as "laundresses." These persons were entitled to rations. Commanding officers were charged with the responsibility of regulating the prices and distribution of the work assigned to these women; an officer's laundry was considered as the equivalent of that of five enlisted men.[17] Army officers in this period no longer held the power to perform the marriage ceremony. This custom had probably been related in some way to the presence of women at the military post.[18]

"Laundresses" presumably may sometimes have lived off the post and may have been married women of respectable status, but this was probably the exception rather than the rule.[19] It is clear from the official documents, however, that women of ill fame were present at the frontier post in one capacity or another. Doubtless also, women not kept on the post had access to the reservation in some way.[20] That these persons might become a special problem is indicated by an order at Baton Rouge expelling women of bad

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17 General Orders, 22 May, 1797, 27 June, 1801, Wilkinson Order Book, 13–14, 339. A table of organization of 1812 provided for 72 women for each regiment. "Estimate of the expenses of raising and continuing in service one year ten Regiments of Infantry authorized by the act of the 11th January, 1812," *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 315. Cited hereafter as "ASP." Few references have been found to these women in the sources available. The reference to women and children at Fort Dearborn given above does not distinguish the status of the women referred to except for Captain Heald's wife. The list of killed and injured at Wilkinsonville, which was struck by a tornado in March, 1801, included several women who were presumably of the above status, since there is no evidence of soldiers' wives being at this newly founded cantonment. Lt. Ferdinand L. Claiborne to —, 14 March, 1801, in *Country Gazette of the United States and Daily Advertiser*, 9 May, 1801; *The Palladium*, 21 April, 1801. Stray references to women living on or near the post are found, but it cannot always be determined that they are camp followers. See, for example, the case of a white woman and a Piankeshaw squaw who were killed at Fort Massac in 1796. These women were probably camp followers, but the correspondence does not reveal their identity. Pike to Wilkinson, 3 July, 1796; Pike to Wayne, 5 July, 1796, both in Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

18 General Orders, 22 May, 1797, 27 June, 1801, *loc. cit.*

19 At least two cases are found at Cantonment Washington which reveal the married status of laundresses, one of whom, at least, lived off the post. See the court martial of John M. Houston for drunkenness "when on pass to assist his wife wash the mens cloathes." Orders, Cantonment Washington, 3 October, 1810, no pagination. Another laundress, belonging to Cantonment Washington, is mentioned as having a husband. *Ibid.*, 27 July, 1810, no pagination.

20 See Orders, Ft. Adams, 29 December, 1807, no pagination. This order refers to the going to and fro of such persons. Another order refers to stealing of civilian property on farms near a post by soldiers and women. Orders, Fort Dearborn (not Chicago), 13 July, 1808, in Orders, Fort Adams, 1807–1808, no pagination.

character from the post. The order also called for a census of such persons, whether married or unmarried, if they were over thirteen years of age. Interestingly enough the census was also to include "all Lads above the age of Eight years who are not inlisted." This seems to refer to boys kept for immoral purposes.[21]

An unique feature of the military program at Cantonment Washington (near Natchez) was the establishment of an elementary school for the instruction of children. No other references to such schools have been found, but the scarcity of post records might be the reason for the lack of information on this subject. Students of the history of education might well wish to explore this topic further.[22]

Most important among the civilian personnel attached to the frontier post were the food contractors or their agents. The army of the period under consideration relied upon civilian contractors for the supply and purveyance of food and condiments to the troops. This system had been in use since revolutionary times.[23] Contracts were let by the War Department, usually for a period of one year dating from 1 October, to the person or persons who offered not necessarily the best terms, but the greatest dependability.[24] Persons holding such contracts might choose to exploit them directly through agents stationed at the posts or by sub-letting the contract to others,

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21 Orders, Baton Rouge, 4 March, 1811, no pagination. One of the officers on this post had a child by one of the women mentioned.

22 See Orders, Cantonment Washington, 2 September, 1810, no pagination. In this case an enlisted man was detailed to conduct a school, and parents were enjoined to do all in their power to furnish "Books, benches, Tables and whatever else may be requisite." The order stressed "The utility and moral tendency" of the school.

23 One of the first western food contractors was George Morgan, who as early as 1777 maintained provisions for a number of forts on the Virginia–Pennsylvania line. Max Savelle, *George Morgan: Colony Builder*, New York, 1932, 171. For the operations of a food contractor in those days see *ibid.*, 172–175.

24 See Secretary of War to Levi Sheftall, 4 July, 1808, War Office, Military Book, III, 313–314. The best information on the operation of a post commissary is found in the Williams Papers, Michigan Historical Collections. John R. Williams served as contractor's agent at Wilkinsonville in 1801. See Caldwell, "Cantonment Wilkinsonville," MID–AMERICA, XXXI, No. 1, 13ff. At the better established posts the government was able to fix a contract price in asking for bids. This was not possible, however, for the more distant posts, especially those established in upper Louisiana and the Northwest. See Secretary of War to Governor Lewis, 28 April, 1809, Carter, XIV, 263. Officers could not make contracts nor alter conditions in contracts. Major Thomas Cushing to John Brownson, 14 July, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 1. In like manner the contractor was held strictly to the terms of his contract. Same to same, 9 September, 1799, *ibid.*, 52–53.

in which case the sub-contractors assumed the legal obligations of the original contractor in reference to the posts concerned.[25] Actual issues at the posts were received by commanding officers or hospital surgeons, the signatures of these officials being necessary in making up the abstracts of issues.[26]

In case of failure to secure a competent contractor or in the case of failure of the contractor to furnish the supplies, the assistant military agent was relied upon to procure the provisions necessary.[27] Another expedient of emergency nature was to let the men furnish their own supplies, but this was more feasible for militiamen serving near their homes than for regular troops.[28] In case of expiration of contracts, and in periods before new contracts arrived, the commanding officer might arrange with the old contractor to furnish rations temporarily.[29]

A common difficulty faced by the contractor was that of living up to the details of his contract, particularly in reference to the

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[25] See, for example, the contract between Matthew Lyon and Nathan Rumsey, both of Livingston County, Kentucky, providing for Rumsey's assumption of Lyon's obligation to ration the United States troops then stationed at Kaskaskia for the year 1802–1803. Rumsey bound himself "to do and perform with the Secretary of War for or with regard to the supplying furnishing and issuing rations to and for the troops of the United States at Kaskaskia... that which the said Lyon is bound to do and the said Rumsey engages to exonerate the said Lyon from all and every penalty forfeiture or loss to which he may in any wise be subject by the nonperformance or failure of fulfillment of his agreement or contract with the Secretary of the Department of War respecting the issuing of rations at the Post at or near Kaskaskia...." Rumsey was to receive ten and one-half cents for each ration issued and one cent less for each ration deposited (stored) at the post. Lyon, a Congressman from Kentucky, evidently had contracted to furnish the rations at a higher figure than that agreed to by Rumsey. Copy of Contract between Lyon and Rumsey, 4 October, 1802, Randolph County, Illinois, Circuit Court, Miscellaneous Papers. Rumsey and two other men were bonded in the sum of $5000 to Lyon for the faithful performance of this contract. This bond reiterates the conditions of the contract as quoted above. Bond of Nathan Rumsey, Robert McMahon, and William Chalfin to Matthew Lyon, 4 October, 1802, *ibid.*

[26] Orders, Baton Rouge, 8 April, 1811, no pagination.

[27] A commanding officer ordering purchases by the military agent was obliged to give the contractor due notice ahead of time to this effect. General Orders, War Department, 1 July, 1808, quoted in Orders, Fort Adams, no date, no pagination.

[28] In such cases the men were given extra pay in lieu of rations. See Governor Blount to Secretary of War, 2 June, 1792, Carter, IV, 154. In this case men serving in the Southeast were promised eight cents per day in lieu of rations.

[29] Cushing to John Brownson, 19 September, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 57; same to same, 23 September, 1799, *ibid.*, 58–59; Cushing to Wilkinson, 8 October, 1799, *ibid.*, 62–64; Brownson to Cushing, 22 September, 1799, *ibid.*, Letters Received, 46.

kinds of issues to be made. Thus, a contractor at Natchez in 1799 could not meet his requirement for salt beef, and wanted to furnish fresh beef instead. The military authorities in this case refused to depart from the contract.[30] As a rule, however, substitutions were made, especially in cases in which medical advice recommended fresh meat over salt meat.[31] Contractors unable to meet issue requirements might substitute money payments to cover their defaults.[32]

The daily ration in this period consisted of issues of bread (or flour), meat (salt or fresh), liquor, and the so-called "small parts" (soap, salt, candles, and vinegar).[33] The cost of rations varied according to the distance of the post from settled areas.[34] In general, local supplies could not be depended upon. General Wayne complained in 1797 that even where supplies could be obtained locally the farmers insisted upon "a very extravagant price" for them.[35] In fact, the high cost of rations sometimes dictated military strategy

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30 See Brownson to Cushing, 26 August, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Received, 10.

31 See Orders, Columbian Spring, 1 April, 17 April, 29 May, 1808, in Orders, Fort Adams, no pagination. In this case the issue of fresh meat was ordered as a regular procedure.

32 Major Thomas Cushing to Lt. James Sterrett, 14 September, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 55–56. A contractor, rather than send an agent with a moving expedition, might supply money to be used for purchasing rations. Cushing to Captain D. Bissell, 16 February, 1800, *ibid.* 123.

33 The daily ration for the United States Army in 1800 consisted of the following: 18 oz. of bread or flour (or 1 qt. rice or 1½ lbs. corn meal), 1¼ lbs. of fresh beef (or 1 lb. salt beef or ¾ lb. salt pork; if fresh meat was used, salt was to be furnished at the rate of two quarts per 100 rations), soap at the rate of 4 lbs. per 100 rations and candles at the rate of 1½ lbs. per 100 rations. In addition "rum, whiskey, or other ardent spirits" were to be furnished at the rate of ½ gill per ration and vinegar at the rate of 2 qts. per 100 rations. War Department Advertizement for Bids, 12 March, 1800, *Kentucky Gazette*, 17 April, 1800. See also Caldwell, "Cantonment Wilkinsonville," 12–13, note 51. Bread and whiskey were issued daily at Baton Rouge in 1811, but the "small parts" were issued monthly. Garrison Orders, Baton Rouge, 2 May, 1811, no pagination.

34 The ration at Wilkinsonville in 1801 cost 12 cents, 7 mills, which amount was apportioned as follows: bread or flour, 4 cents; meat, 5 cents; liquor, 2 cents; small parts, 1 cent, 7 mills. The so-called "small parts" were estimated as follows: 4 lbs. soap, 80 cents; 2 qts. salt, 48 cents; 1½ lbs. candles, 39 cents; 2 qts. vinegar, 3 cents; total: $1.70. Note on Invoice of Provisions, 30 March, 1801, Williams Papers.

35 Wayne to Secretary of the Treasury, 4 September, 1796, Carter, II, 572. He referred here to the then more distant posts: Detroit, Mackinac, and the Illinois. In general, it would seem that local contractors were apt to be less dependable than contractors from abroad. They were tempted to make low bids, which cut into their margin of profit, and they sometimes had trouble giving security. See Secretary of War to Governor Hull, 12 April, 1808, Carter, X, 215, *re* receiving local bids for rationing the troops at Detroit.

for the economy-minded government of that day.[36] On the other hand, it was sometimes advisable for the contractor to keep heavy inventories on hand to meet the exigencies of new troop movements or military campaigns.[37]

The food contractors sometimes had difficulty in financing their purchases. In such cases the government came to their relief by advancing them sums on their future deliveries. In one case, a contractor at Fort Pickering (near Memphis) who had received advances totalling $10,000, was still unable to furnish provisions for the post.[38]

A hard-pressed contractor might be forced to seek release from his contract.[39] Still worse, he might be tempted to use doubtful expedients to keep up his issues, substituting adulterated or spoiled provisions for good food. The worst offender under this head in the period studied was perhaps James Morrison, a Kentucky contractor, who held contracts to supply certain of the lower Mississippi posts in 1810–1811. Morrison was charged with issuing spoiled and

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[36] Writing in 1795 Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War, proposed to the President the removal of most of Wayne's force from Greenville, leaving only small units at the outlying forts, because, he says, "the transportation of provisions from the Ohio to Greenville so prodigiously enhances the price...." Secretary of War to the President, 28 September, 1795, Carter, II, 538–539.

[37] Thus, early in 1803 inventories or "deposits" for a two-month's period were ordered in anticipation of requirements for troop movements in connection with the Louisiana Purchase. Secretary of War to Thomas Cushing, 9 March, 1803, Carter, VII, 94. The "Report of Provisions on Hand at Wilkinson Ville on the 1st April, 1801" revealed "72,445½ rations of meat, 47,057½ rations of flour, 213,839 rations of whiskey, 179,544½ rations of soap, 289,949 rations of candles, 12,000 rations of vinegar, and 4,600 rations of salt." Williams Papers. On the other hand, John Beaird, agent for William Morrison, the contractor at Fort Russell, on 12 June, 1813, reported only 93 barrels of salt pork, 85 barrels of flour, 3 barrels of candles, 4 barrels of soap, and 1 barrel of whiskey on hand. Fort Russell was at that time evacuated by the troops. The contractor had evidently been caught unawares by the movement. Inventory, 12 June, 1813, inclosure to Benjamin Howard to Secretary of War, 2 September, 1813, Carter, XVI, 363. Prisoners of war or other persons held in duress might also burden the contractor, who, however, might petition the War Department for expenses so encountered. Major Thomas Cushing to Lt. James Sterrett, 6 September, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 50–51.

[38] Secretary of War to Thomas Wilson, 21 March, 1804, War Office, Military Book, 17 November, 1803–28 February, 1807, 70. The payment of sums of money in advance of delivery of provisions was authorized by the contracts, the money being made available at places of public deposit. Secretary of War to Cuthbert and Thomas Bullett, 16 June, 1804, *ibid.*, 114.

[39] C. and T. Bullett to Secretary of War, 26 May, 1805, War Office, Letters Received, II, 160. The Bulletts, prominent Louisville merchants, in this case sought release from their contract to supply Fort Massac. An inquiry into this case was ordered by General Wilkinson, but the results have not been found. General Orders, 4 June, 1805, Wilkinson Order Book, 542.

inferior provisions, which resulted in lowered morale among the troops.[40]

An outstanding example of the failure of a food contractor is the case of the one supplying St. Louis in 1805. Though charges of bad issues of provisions were made in this case, the evidence seems to be that the contractors, Cuthbert and Thomas Bullett of Louisville, Kentucky, were overburdened by having to supply the additional troops then being sent to this post and handicapped by the hostility of the civilian population, who were said to have demanded exhorbitant prices, while refusing to give credit to the conrtactors.[41] The situation was eventually relieved by direct governmental purchases through the assistant military agent.[42] In such a situation,

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[40] Secretary of War to Morrison, 18 January, 1810, War Office, Military Book, IV, 262; same to same, 2 February, 1810, *ibid.*, 273. Flour issued at Fort Adams was said to be "sour, & the meat not merchantable." Morrison was also charged with issuing bad vinegar. Since this condiment was "considered indispensable in preventing the diseases of that climate," this matter was considered very serious. Same to same, 28 March, 1811, *ibid.*, V, 94. Spoiled beef and pork were possiby related to the epidemic sickness which affected the troops stationed on the Mississippi below New Orleans in 1811, but it is not clear that Morrison was the contractor in this case. Percy M. Ashborn, *A History of the Medical Department of the United States Army*, Boston and New York, 1929, 27, quoting the *Medical Repository for 1811*, 85. General Gaines once rashly stated that more men had died in the armed forces from " 'the badness of the provisions than by the fire of the enemy.' " Quoted in Silver, *Gaines*, 40–41. For other examples of the issuance of spoiled provisions see Major Thomas H. Cushing to a Mr. Irish (no other name given), 7 May, 1800, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 149; General Orders, Baton Rouge, 28 April, 1811, no pagination; Orders, Cantonment Washington, 13 September, 1810, no pagination; *ibid.*, 14 September, 1810. Another irregularity noted against the contractor was the selling of the best parts of beef carcasses, leaving the inferior parts to be issued to the men. Garrison Orders, Baton Rouge, 2 May, 1811, no pagination.

[41] Major James Bruff charged that sour water instead of vinegar and putrid salt meat had been issued. At one time Bruff had to pledge his own credit in order to get local supplies "as no person here will trust contractors. . . ." Bruff to Wilkinson, 28 May, 1805, enclosure to Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 15 June, 1805, Carter, XIII, 137. Wilkinson was of the opinion that the Bulletts had agreed to supply rations at too low a figure. Just what this figure was is not known, but Wilkinson said that no profit was possible "with certainty at less than Eighteen cents per Ration." It was rumored that a new contractor, Colonel William Perry, had agreed to supply rations there at thirteen cents. Wilkinson predicted the new contractor's ruin, while he reported the old contractors were losing twenty dollars per day in attempting to keep up issues. Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 27 July, 1805, Carter, XIII, 170; same to same, 10 August, 1805, *ibid.*, 180–181.

[42] In December, 1805, Wilkinson reported that some $4000 had been so expended. By that time provisions were somewhat adequate. Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 10 December, 1805, Carter, XIII, 299. It should be pointed out that direct purchase of supplies by the government was not necessarily a remedy to the situation, particularly in the more remote posts where local supplies could not be had readily. Thus in 1809 when the

one is not surprised to find General Wilkinson's name mentioned as one of those involved in irregularities in reference to the food purveyance business, but little or no evidence has been found to substantiate these charges.[43]

Complaints concerning the failure of the contractors, especially during war time, pointed to the necessity of a better system of insuring the availability of provisions for the army.[44] In 1812 General William Clark said that any force sent against the Indians for longer than twenty or thirty days could not depend upon a contractor for its supplies. He suggested direct governmental purchase and storage of supplies with the provision of transportation facilities for moving stores.[45] Since the government was often obliged to purchase provisions directly in case of the failure of the contractors, it also might find itself at a loss in attempting to dispose of any surplus supplies so purchased because the contractor could not or would not meet the terms offered by the government in selling such surpluses.[46] The period under consideration ended without change in the system.

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contractor's agent at Terre au Boeuf below New Orleans failed, General Wilkinson was unable to get beef at any price. He says he had offered $100 for a cow "without effect." Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 19 August, 1809, in *The American Register*, VII, 1810, 92.

[43] In 1806 Judge John B. C. Lucas wrote the Secretary of Treasury as follows: "I suppose that Mr Smith senator from the Ohio is very busy in favour of James Wilkinson, a good term deserves another it ought to be remembered that mr Smith is a contractor and that Wilkinson is general [sic], more over I believe that the person who ostensibly purchase beefs [sic] and other things for the army acts under James Wilkinson &c...." Lucas to Secretary of Treasury, 13 February, 1806, Carter, XIII, 447. However, Mr. T. R. H. Hay exonerates Wilkinson from complicity in the contracting business. See his "Some Reflections on the Career of General James Wilkinson," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXI, No. 4, 479–480.

[44] For an example of a contractor's failure to supply a military expedition, see Tipton's "Tippecanoe Journal" in Glen A. B. Cockburn (compiler) "The John Tipton Papers," Vol. I (1809–1827), *Indiana Historical Collection*, XXIV, Indianapolis, 1942, 71. Tipton relates that as Harrison's force was en route to meet the Indians at Tippecanoe rations were drastically reduced "on acompt of the Contractor failing...." Perhaps Harrison had to fight or return home quickly.

[45] Clark to Secretary of War, 5 December, 1812, Carter, XIV, 610. A year later Clark returned to this subject. He did not blame the contractors, but stressed the fact that "dificuelties [sic] which cannot be forseen" were the cause of these failures. Same to same, 18 December, 1813, *ibid.*, 724. General Wilkinson threatened to establish his own commissary at Terre au Boeuf in 1809. Wilkinson to Secretary of War, 19 August, 1809, in *The American Register*, VII, 1810, 92.

[46] Thus, in 1813 the Government tried to dispose of 500 barrels of pork in Saint Louis by selling them to the contractor, who refused the offer. Since the pork had been more than a year on hand, it was not thought advisable to send it to New Orleans for sale. Governor Clark had

The food contractor or his agent occupied an important position in the frontier community, especially during war periods when his operations were greatly extended. He and his agents communicated directly with the military reservation, establishing a close liaison between the civilians and the military.[47] Prominent frontier merchants, such as William Morrison at Kaskaskia, provided they possessed the proper political affiliations, might find themselves in possession of a contract, which automatically extended their operations and generally redounded to the increase of their financial assets.[48] Undoubtedly the contractor also found opportunities to carry on a separate, if sometimes clandestine, business with the civilian population about the military post.[49] In war time, the food contractor might also be called upon to give relief to the civil population of a community as was the case at Detroit in 1813–1814.[50] Such activities would place the contractor in a position of great importance in reference to the civilian population. However, it is not clear that this situation existed in any number of cases.

Standing next to the food contractor in importance among civilian personnel at the frontier post was the sutler, who from earliest times

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it inspected and repacked, but it is not clear that he was able to dispose of it satisfactorily. He did suggest that it might be sent northward to the upper Mississippi where new posts were being established. Clark to Secretary of War, 18 December, 1813, Carter, XIV, 723–724; same to same, 2 February, 1814, *ibid.*, 739.

47 See Garrison Orders, Fort Adams, 25 February, 1808, in Orders, Fort Adams, no pagination.

48 Morrison seems to have secured his first contract in 1811. Secretary of War to Morrison, 30 November, 1811, War Office, Military Book, V, 241. The Morrison Papers give adequate evidence of the waxing of Morrison's interests after this date. The influence of the contractor on the local economy deserves further study.

49 The Morrison Papers make no clear distinction in many cases between supplies going to Fort Massac for contract disposal and those for other business outlet. An idea of the sort of business the contractor or his assistants might have plied at the post itself is given by Baily, who tells how his expedition got biscuit from a baker in the fort at Natchez who supplied it "clandestinely" after "a good deal of entreaty." Francis Baily, *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 & 1797*, London, 1856, 347. Among the disciplinary cases found in courts-martial records are those involving the forgery of officers' signatures for orders of liquor from the contractor. See Orders, Cantonment Washington, 30 July, 1810, no pagination. At times the contractor, along with the sutler, is mentioned as selling liquor to the troops. Garrison Orders, Fort Dearborn (near Natchez), 30 June, 1808, in Orders, Fort Adams, no pagination.

50 After the reoccupation of Detroit in October, 1813, relief had been given to the people by the contractor and this system was still being followed two years later. Anthony Butler to Secretary of War, 8 May, 1815, Carter, X, 534–535; "Regulations for Administration of Relief," Detroit, 23 September, 1815, enclosure to Governor Cass to Secretary of War, 31, May, 1816, *ibid.*, 645–646.

has doubtless catered to armies in all countries. Territorial law as early as 1790 provided by indirection for the licensing of dealers in liquor at military posts, the control of this business being put under the jurisdiction of the post commandant.[51] At the same time, civilians were forbidden to possess any items of military property, including clothing and equipment.[52] As indicated by this law, the sutler was at first licensed by the military officers, who, according to one informant, were tempted to grant monopolies to individuals in return for favors.[53] Too, it must be emphasized that once appointed, the sutler received the support of the post commandant in collection of debts owed him by military personnel.[54]

In 1805 the Inspector General forbade monopolies and ordered the establishment of plural sutlers at all the posts. This was done, it was alleged, against the better judgment of the Inspector General, but it seemed likely to silence "the slanders which have heretofore been heaped on him and to prevent every possible cause of inquietude. . . ." Thenceforth, anyone could set up shop at a military installation, provided he could secure the permission of the com-

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[51] Law of 26 July, 1790, Northwest Territory, in T. C. Pease (ed.), *Laws of the Northwest Territory, Illinois Historical Collections*, XVIII, Springfield, 1925, 28–29. This statute prohibited the sale of liquor within ten miles of any military post "without an order in writing previously obtained from a commissioned officer serving with the same troops. . . ." An exception, however, was made to permit surgeons and surgeons' mates to procure the liquor needed for their functions. This statute was repealed by the Act of 14 July, 1795. *Ibid.*, 255–256. The frontier sutler is deserving of further study. Lewis E. Atherton's "The Merchant Sutler in the Pre-Civil War Period," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XIX, No. 2, September, 1938, 140–151, is valuable, but is based chiefly upon two source collections pertaining to sutlers in the early nineteenth century. What is needed is a careful study of the general subject.

[52] Law of 26 July, 1790, *loc. cit.*

[53] Matthew Irwin to Secretary of War, 10 March, 1812, Carter, XVI, 196. This writer says that "the officers get their Wants supplied at costs & charges; and in consequence, it is understood that the Sutler may charge those for the soldiery, in such a manner, as will reimburse him for his liberallity [sic] to the officers." Sutlers, like contractors, were often represented at the posts by agents. See Major Thomas H. Cushing to James Anderson, 19, June, 1799, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 5.

[54] Note the following rules for distribution of soldiers' pay at Cantonment Washington in 1810: "All company debts, for washing and altering cloathing must be discharged; after which such a part of the remaining pay to go [sic] to the Sutlers as the commanding officers of Companys may deem just; preserving a proportion for the Soldiers imediate [sic] wants. . . ." Regimental Orders, Cantonment Washington, 24 July, 1810, 10–11. Courts-martial enforced the collection of debts due the sutler. *Ibid.*, 30 July, 1810, no pagination. Atherton thinks the military sutler was probably a better collector than the average frontier merchant. "The Merchant Sutler," 150.

manding officer.[55] By 1810 the Inspector General's office was also giving approval to applications from sutlers.[56] Atherton cites several cases of ex-army officers who became sutlers after leaving the service.[57]

The status of sutlers was recognized by the Articles of War, which provided for the regulation of hours of business, prices, the quality of the goods sold, and the protection of the sutler against exhorbitant rents for the use of camp quarters and facilities. Sutlers, like all other camp retainers, were subject to military orders.[58]

Little has been found concerning the kinds of items handled by the sutler in this period. A list of goods referred to as being sold by sutlers at Fort Dearborn in 1809 may, however, have been typical. Items mentioned are whiskey, tobacco, brown sugar, boot blacking ("black ball"), shoe brushes, and thread. Normal profits on the sale of such goods have been estimated at fifty percent.[59]

That the sutlers presented problems to the military commanders is to be expected. General Wayne had trouble with them during his campaign in Ohio when they were charged with speculation on local goods and supplies and with selling liquor unlawfully. Wayne required regular inventories of sutlers' goods.[60] At Detroit in 1797, a sutler named William Mitchel was sentenced to be drummed out of camp for selling liquor illegally, said William to have "a bottle suspended about his neck" and to keep step to the "rouges [sic] March." This prisoner was to be accompanied by one Lydia Conner, who was convicted of the same offense.[61]

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55 Inspector General to Lt. Col. Jacob Kingsbury, 25 September, 1805, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, 12 February, 1805–4 September, 1809, no pagination.

56 Inspector General to Lt. Col. Daniel Bissell, 27 July, 1810, *ibid.*, 4 September, 1809–7 March, 1811, 210. In a case here referred to the Inspector General refused to approve the application of a sutler who wanted to locate at Fort Bellefontaine.

57 "The Merchant Sutler," 142–143.

58 See Articles XXIX, XXX, XXXI, and LX of the Articles of War as passed by Congress and approved by President Jefferson, 10 April, 1806, in Alexander Macomb, *A Treatise on Martial Law and Courts-Martial; as practiced in the United States of America*, Charleston, 1809, 213–215, 229.

59 "Comparative Note of Prices at the Sutler's & another Store, at Chicago–Decr 1809," enclosure to Matthew Irwin to Secretary of War, 30 December, 1809, Carter, XVI, 66–68; Atherton, "The Merchant Sutler," 145. Atherton thinks there was a close similarity between the goods carried by the sutler and those carried by the ordinary merchant.

60 Wayne Orderly Book, 15 December, 1793–13 February, 1794, 150–151; *ibid.*, 13 February, 1794–22 April, 1794, 126–127. The Wayne Orderly Books used are in the Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky.

61 General Orders, 21 July, 1797, Wilkinson Order Book, 57–59. In 1798 a Spanish citizen at Loftus Heights was sentenced to one hundred lashes for the same offense and was ordered drummed out of camp with

Captain E. P. Gaines in 1808 complained bitterly against the sutlers and certain other civilians at Fort Stoddert who had pre-empted lands near the fort, where they had set up tippling shops which the Captain blamed for the loss of "many valuable men."[62] Quite likely most posts had their unlicensed sutlers, who may be likened to the bootleggers of the present. In some cases, there may have been a liaison between these individuals and the food contractor, especially in reference to the liquor traffic.[63] Post commandants and company officers were constantly concerned with the sale of liquor by sutlers and tried to regulate the evil by banning sales outright, by restricting the presence of military personnel on the sutler's premises, by requiring written permits to be held by soldiers and women purchasing liquor from sutlers, by making sutlers' stores out of bounds to sick men, and by punishing sutlers who broke rules.[64]

Adam Caldwell, a sutler's clerk at Greenville, was convicted of "haveing [sic] made an attempt to depreciate the Current Bills of the Bank of the United States in declairing . . . that He would not give . . . in hand [sic] money half the amount intending thereby to destroy the confidence of the Soldiery in the said Bills. . . ."[65] One might suspect that this sutler was really more interested in "short

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two bottles suspended from his neck. Wilkinson remitted the corporal punishment in deference to good relations with the Spanish. General Orders, Loftus Heights, 19 November, 1798, Wilkinson Order Book, 168–169. Benjamin Van Cleve, the contractor's agent who accompanied Major Doyle's force to Fort Massac in 1794 and author of the Journal referred to above, had been convicted of selling liquor illegally as a sutler at Greenville and had suffered confiscation of his goods. He was also forbidden the privilege of securing a sutler's license again. Wayne Orderly Book, 13 February, 1794–22 April, 1794, 126–127.

62 In this case reference is probably made to sutlers who were unlicensed rather than to the regular sutlers on the post itself. Gaines to Secretary of War, 15 April, 1808, Carter, V, 625–626. There was at this fort a tavern with a public room located "convenient to the fort," which was probably a licensed sutler's establishment. Judge Toulmin to the President, 12 December, 1810, *ibid.*, VI, 154.

63 See Lt. D. Hughes to John R. Williams, 11 August, 1801, Williams Papers. Several such unlicensed individuals were operating at Wilkinsonville in 1801, according to Hughes, who seemed to think Williams knew more about this business than he admitted.

64 See in order, Regimental Orders, Baton Rouge, 3 April, 1811, no pagination; Company Orders, Baton Rouge, 3 April, 1811, no pagination; Regimental Orders, Baton Rouge, 25 March, 1811, no pagination; Company Orders, Baton Rouge, 25 March, 1811, no pagination; Orders, Cantonment Washington, 1 November, 1810, no pagination; and Major Thomas H. Cushing to Captain John Wade, 31 January, 1800, Cushing Letter Book, Letters Sent, 96.

65 Wayne Orderly Book, 13 February, 1794–22 April, 1794, 128–129.

changing" the soldiery than in destroying confidence in Hamilton's Bank!

Commissioned officers were sometimes charged with being in league with the sutlers. Such was the case of Captain John Campbell at Columbian Springs near Fort Stoddert, who was convicted before a general court martial in 1810 on the charge that he had used military personnel to build a storehouse and dwelling for "his Brother in Law the Sutler."[66]

By far the worst scandal in the sutling business, however, was that exposed at Fort Dearborn in 1809 by Matthew Irwin, who was Indian agent at that post. In this case, the son of the commanding officer and the post surgeon had gone into partnership as sutlers at the post. The commanding officer, Captain John Whistler, influenced by his son, was alleged to have forced his soldiers to purchase from this particular sutler to the exclusion of others, even going so far, Irwin charged, as to punish those who dared purchase elsewhere.[67] Whistler was removed from his command as a result of this exposure and the ring was broken up temporarily.[68] Captain Nathan Heald, who succeeded Whistler, gave the sutling business to John Kinzie, a Canadian, whom Irwin soon accused of bringing in illegal trading goods.[69] As soon as Kinzie got his monopoly, he raised the prices of the goods in his store from twenty-five to fifty percent.[70] This led to an order to Captain Heald to fix prices at

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66 Orders, Cantonment Washington, 28 September, 1810, no pagination. This same officer was also charged, though not convicted, of using military personnel and government work animals to cultivate corn on nearby farm lands.

67 Matthew Irwin to Secretary of War, 30 December, 1809, Carter, XVI, 67. Lt. Thomas Hamilton, son-in-law to Whistler, was also involved in the scandal.

68 Carter, XVI, 68, note 27.

69 Irwin to Secretary of War, 19 January, 1812, *ibid.*, 184–185. According to Irwin, Kinzie and his half-brother, John Forsythe, had secured the monopoly through bribery in Washington, and, in any case, were adherents to British Indian policy in the Northwest. Same to same, 10 March, 1812, *ibid.*, 196.

70 See Garrison Orders, 17 January, 1812, establishing the Kinzie and Forsythe monopoly at the post. Enclosure to Irwin to Secretary of War, 10 March, 1812, Carter, XVI, 195–197. Kinzie had a store at Fort Dearborn in 1809 at which time his prices were much lower than those of the store favored by Captain Whistler, i.e., the firm of Cooper and Whistler. See "Comparative Note of Prices at the Sutler's & another Store, at Chicago–Decer 1809," in *loc. cit.* It is possible that Kinzie had greatly reduced his prices at this time to compete with Cooper and Whistler and had raised them to a more normal level after this firm was dissolved. However, Kinzie was no angel, as Irwin often reminds us.

the sutler's store.[71] It is plain that Kinzie did not fully appreciate the good work Irwin had done in improving the sutling business at Fort Dearborn. Having influence with the Indians, he began to stir up trouble between the troops and the savages and to obstruct the Indian agency in its work. For a time Irwin was obliged to close his factory, but he later reopened it.[72] The massacre of the garrison at Fort Dearborn by the Indians brought the controversy to a close.

The importance of the sutler may be judged from Irwin's statement that it was generally believed "that more than three-fourths of the soldiers pay is spent at the sutlers. . . ."[73] This statement may have been an exaggeration, but it is doubtless true that a high percentage of military pay passed through the sutler's hands, a fact which makes him a very significant personage on the frontier post. Though the post sutler was troublesome to the Army, he doubtless was indispensable. At the smaller posts he catered to the needs of both the soldiers and the civilians, playing that role in the frontier community which the merchant has always played in economic matters. It may be unfortunate that we hear only of the bad sutlers at the posts. The surviving military records contain in general very little information on the sutler.

The third important civilian attached to the military post was the Indian agent. This official was responsible directly to a superintendent of Indian affairs, who was not under the immediate jurisdiction of the military authorities. Indian agents were, however, quite dependent upon the military, not only for protection, but also for such things as the provision of quarters, labor, and often supplies. Indian agents were instructed to represent the best interests

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71 Secretary of War to Matthew Irwin, 7 April, 1812, Carter, XVI, 210. Another post commandant issued this order on sutlers' prices: "Subtlers are to sell at reasonable prices, and any Subtler who does otherwise is to be Confined and tried for a breach of the 30th Article [of War] and for disobedience to this order." Garrison Orders, Baton Rouge, 2 May, 1811, no pagination.

72 Irwin to Secretary of War, 16 April, 1812; same to John Mason, 28 April, 1812; same to Secretary of War, 15 May, 1812, all in Carter, XVI, 212, 216, 219–220. In the last letter cited Irwin brings a long list of charges against Kinzie.

73 Matthew Irwin to Secretary of War, 30 December, 1809, *loc. cit.* Irwin says a half partnership in the sutler's store at Fort Dearborn was so valuable that an offer of $2000 for it was refused. Atherton relates that John Cleves Symmes bought $9000 worth of goods for sale at Contonment Davis in 1815, while John O'Fallon did $6000 worth of business at Council Bluffs in 1821–1822. "The Merchant Sutler," 146–147.

of friendly Indian nations, to distribute bounties and aids to them, to encourage them to take up agriculture and the domestic arts, and to protect the Indians from encroachments on the part of the whites. In case of trouble, it was the duty of the Indian agent to cooperate with the post authorities and the Secretary of War. The Indian agent hired interpreters to assist him in his work; both interpreters and agents were under oath to the United States.[74] The chief concern of the Indian agent was to protect the Indians from the whites, rather than *vice-versa*.[75] In cases in which no Indian agent represented the Secretary of War, the post commandant acted in his stead.[76]

Salaries of Indian agents were higher than those of most officers in the period under consideration.[77] Assistant agents and interpreters received smaller salaries and a single ration.[78]

Since the Indian agent was not under the jurisdiction of the military post, no further attention will be given to him here. It should be emphasized, however, that in one way or another the post commandant had many contacts with the Indians. Writing in 1800 Secretary McHenry stated that "the provisions distributed to the Indians at military posts far exceed in value the amount of their annual Stipends; encourage the Indians in idleness, and draw into and round our places of defence, those who had better be

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74 See Secretary of War to Silas Dinsmoor, 8 May, 1802, Carter, V, 146–150. Dinsmoor was newly appointed agent to the Choctaw. The most recent study of the Indian agent is Merritt B. Pound's *Benjamin Hawkins: Indian Agent*, Athens, 1952.

75 In a certain sense, this was also the role of the frontier post, as F. A. Michaux points out. Speaking of the fort at West Point in Tennessee, Michaux says that it was built there "to hold the Indians in respect, and at the same time to protect them against the inhabitants on the frontiers, whose illiberal proceedings excite them frequently to war." Michaux's *Travels* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, III, 262.

76 See for example, Secretary of War to Amos Stoddart, 4 May, 1804; same to Commanding Officer of Upper Louisiana, 8 May, 1804; same to Daniel Bissell, 9 May, 1804, all in Carter, XIII, 20–23.

77 The agent at Detroit in 1800 received $1200 per year salary plus six rations per day. This rations allowance was worth in money over $400. Secretary of War to William Lyman, 14 July, 1800, Carter, VII, 26.

78 The assistant Indian agent at Fort Wayne in 1809 received $360 per year salary and a single ration, valued at $72 per year, for subsistence. This particular person was complaining about the single ration, saying no man could live on it "except soldiers who associate together in large messes. . . ." John Johnston to Secretary of War, 15 April, 1809, Carter, VII, 648–649. An interpreter's salary must have varied considerably. He received one ration per day. Secretary of War to St. Clair, 25 April, 1800, Carter, III, 83.

always kept at a distance, and in ignorance of their strength or weakness." He ordered that all distributions of rations to the Indians be "narrowed to acts of indispensable charity to travellers or individuals falling in the way of the Garrisons on their journies by accident. . . ."[79]

Also present on the military post as hired laborers were those civilians in the direct employment of the Army itself or who were employed by contractors, sutlers, or Indian agents. These persons were generally called "artificers" if engaged, as they often were, in construction work such as carpentry, brickmaking, lumberworking, and so on. Others were engaged in ironworking, butchering, baking, and cartage. In these capacities such persons were more often employed by the food contractor and the sutler, but sometimes also by the military agent or the Indian agent. Employed also in various capacities were clerical workers of one kind or another.

Such persons, if assigned to the post, and quartered there, were subject to military discipline.[80] Not much has been found concerning the pay of these workers, but it would seem from the evidence available that their lot was not a bad one in frontier times.[81] Soldiers were frequently detailed to do such tasks as the artificers and other civilian workers performed, especially under war conditions or at

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[79] Secretary of War to St. Clair, 25 April, 1800, Carter, III, 82–83.

[80] Such was the opinion of Judge John Cleves Symmes in a case concerning some artificers who had brought suit against an officer who had punished them. Judge Symmes to Acting Governor Sargent, 30 June, 1792; Sargent to Secretary of War, 9 June, 1792, Carter, II, 400, 402 ff. See also Article LX of the Articles of War in *loc. cit.*, 229.

[81] Examples of wages paid such workmen at Wilkinsonville in 1801 by the contractor's agent were six dollars per month for a butcher, and fifteen dollars per month for an assistant to the agent. The baker at Wilkinsonville was credited with five dollars for each 196 pounds of bread he baked. Conner to Williams, 6 July, 1801, Williams Papers; contract between William Chribbs and Oliver Ormsby, 16 May, 1801, in *ibid.* Chribbs was working as a baker to discharge a debt he owed Ormsby, the food contractor. In 1804–1805 the food contractor at Kaskaskia paid one dollar each for dressing beeves, with fifty cents extra for salting the meat and eight cents per pound for making candles. He paid laborers sixteen dollars per month. Bills of Abijah Leavitt with Alpha Kingsley, 1804–1805, Randolph County, Illinois, Circuit Court, Miscellaneous Papers. A carpenter at Fort Wayne received two rations per day, from which we may conclude that he was otherwise reasonably paid. John Johnston to Secretary of War, 15 April, 1809, Carter, VII, 648–649. Garrison artificers at Fort Dearborn in addition to their regular pay got ten cents per day and a gill of whiskey when they did blacksmith work for the Indians. In this case the regular smith employed by the Indian agent had been discharged. Secretary of War to Charles Jouett, 5 July, 1809, Carter, XVI, 50.

newly established posts far removed from civilian communities.[82] In general, military records make few references to civilian workers on the post, a fact which seems to indicate that such persons created no special problems. The number of such persons, of course, was relatively small.

NORMAN W. CALDWELL

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[82] For example, see the Monthly Return of Troops at Fort Massac, 12 April, 1796, listing the following men detached for duty as artificers: one as an armorer, one as a waggoner, one as a brickmaker, one as a blacksmith, and three as carpenters.

Notes and Comments

Four centuries ago on July 31, 1556, Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, died at Rome at the age of sixty-five years. To commemorate the quadricentennial the Jesuits have published some two hundred articles and books of a scholarly nature dealing with the early activities of their Order. Prominent among the contributions to history and biography are the articles and documents in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu,* the semiannual periodical of the Historical Institute of the Jesuits at Rome.

Among the studies in the July-December number of the *Archivum* (Vol. XXIV, Fasc. 48, 1955) there appears "Four Unpublished Letters of Anton Maria Benz, Eighteenth Century Missionary to Mexico," under the co-editorship of Peter Masten Dunne, S.J., and Ernest J. Burrus, S.J. The letters in the original Alemannic dialect are preceded by a brief biographical sketch of the missionary to the Pimerias and by a bibliography. The letters take up thirty-six pages in smaller type and they will be useful to students of the history of our southwest. Besides the other articles and the bibliographical section of this number there is a brief "In Memoriam" announcing the death of Father Pedro de Leturia, S.J., who has been one of the college of editors and writers in the Historical Institute for the past seventeen years.

The January-June *Archivum,* 1956, is in book proportions of 615 pages and with a book title *Commentarii Ignatiani 1556–1956.* There are twenty-nine articles and documentary editions in Spanish, Latin, Italian, German, French, and English. Nine of the contributors are non-Jesuit scholars. These commentaries, to employ a more appropriate word than articles, are heavily documented studies in the first part on phases of the life and deeds of St. Ignatius and in the second part on his writings and teachings. Two of the commentaries in English by American Jesuits are "Saint Ignatius the Educator, Guide amid Contemporary Problems," by George E. Ganss of Marquette University, and "Pioneer Jesuit Apostles among the Indians of New Spain (1572–1604): Ignatian Principles Put into Practice," by Ernest J. Burrus of the Historical Institute. The latter has as its purpose an investigation of the numbers of Jesuits who devoted themselves to ministerial work among the Indians either

of the urban centers or in the villages. His findings culled from the records indicate that quite contrary to the general belief that the early Jesuits confined themselves to building colleges for the education of the whites in the cities, 109 of the Jesuits in twenty-five years had learned the native tongues and were missionaries to the Indians. Fr. Burrus gives an alphabetical list of these men with brief paragraph biographical data on each.

* * * *

As his contribution to the Ignatian quadricentennial Father Serafim Leite, the indefatigable historian of the Jesuits in Brasil, has brought out a fine study of Nóbrega, a contemporary of Ignatius and founder of the Brasilian Province of the Order. This is *Breve Itinerário para uma Biografia do P. Manuel da Nóbrega, Fundador da Provincia do Brasil e da Cidade de São Paulo (1517–1576)*, published by Edições "Brotéria" in Lisbon and Livros de Portugal in Rio de Janeiro.

Leite in his modest introduction says that a complete biography of Nóbrega will take some time to prepare since there are gaps in the documentation, especially with regard to geographical materials and other men working with Nóbrega, which prevent a definitive work at present. There is no doubting the author's word that Nóbrega is as "rich a personality" as any encountered in the history of the Jesuits and one worthy of long study by reason of the permanency of his work and institutions he began in Brasil. Therefore, Leite presents in this volume a brief itinerary of the great missionary-administrator, without digressions and in a strictly chronological order. In a masterly way Leite marshalls the documents whether printed or in manuscript in the archives of Rome, Lisbon, Évora, Coimbra, Madrid, Alcalá, and in those of the cities of Brasil where Nóbrega is known as a founder or co-founder. In the majority of the 243 pages Leite uses quotations liberally, especially when essential or new facts from manuscripts are being presented. It would be a blessing for students in the States to have this volume in English.

* * * *

Early this year University Books (New York) offset printed the 1938 English edition of Henri Pirenne's *A History of Europe.*

This book which, upon first publications, was universally praised by historians of the calibre of Gray Cowan Boyce, F. M. Powicke, and Eileen Power is one that all historians will rejoice to see in print again. Unfortunately historians who are wage-earners may regret its current inflationary price of $7.50. Pirenne's now classical reputation was deservedly built upon such books as his *Les Villes des Moyen Age, La Civilisation Occidental en Moyen Age* and his *Mahomet et Charlemagne.* All of the masterpieces had as their wellspring *A History of Europe,* which Pirenne wrote while a prisoner of Germany in the latter years of the First World War. Here Pirenne deftly laid down the essential contours he perceived in Europe's history from "The End of the Roman World in the West," to "The Renaissance and Reformation." The advantages for students of this perfectly balanced synthesis are many. Here in brief compass they meet the major creative ideas which led to Pirenne's great historical works. Although Pirenne's understanding of the development of the Middle Ages was spelled out in detail in his individual histories, he never reached the story of Europe from the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. He did, however, seriously consider this critical period in his *History,* and the mature insight embodied in this can be the point of departure for scholars and students for a profound understanding of Europe's modern history.—Edward Gargan.

* * * *

It is quite difficult to review and unwise to leave unnoticed the series of volumes on the Caribbean published by the School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida under the editorship of Professor A. Curtis Wilgus. The books and the chapters have varying degrees of significance. The fifth volume of the first series has recently come to hand: *The Caribbean; Its Culture,* (University of Florida Press, Gainsville, 1955, four dollars.) Following the editor's introductory survey of education in the middle-American area are twenty papers, delivered by twenty lecturers during the session of the School, pertaining to culture in these modern days. These are broken into six parts: The Arts, Music and Drama, Literature, Education, Religion, and Cultural Concepts. The chapters will be of aid to many who wish to understand the spirit of the

Caribbean; they are designed to promote better feelings among peoples of the Americas. The most significant chapter for the historian is David K. Easton's: Sources for the Study of Caribbean Culture.

* * * *

Of very great value to students of American history in the broader sense is the *Handbook of Latin American Studies.* The most recent of these *Handbooks* is No. 18, 1952. This selective and annotated guide to material published in 1952 is edited by Francisco Aguilera, assisted by Phyllis G. Carter, for the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress, and is published by the University of Florida Press, Gainesville. Forty-six contributing editors write the introductions to the larger topics and the descriptions of the contents of about 3,500 items listed. An editor's note states that efforts will be made to produce this annual bibliography so as to make it current. Some will quarrel with the proposed new procedure since the present method seems to have been eminently successful, but the Advisory Board has decided to make No. 19, 1953, to include selections of 1954 and 1955 publications, while No. 20, 1954, will include 1954, 1955, and some books published in 1956. Whatever the procedure, students will have to consult the *Handbook,* hence librarians had better put it on their shelves.

* * * *

As has been commonly observed the universities and historians in the southern states have been notably active during these past ten years in publishing scholarly works. There is an announcement now of a new and more elaborate series of monographs on the South of Civil War period. They are to begin this year. The books will be numbered consecutively under the title of *Confederate Centennial Studies,* four annually during these centennial years. W. Stanley Hoole is Editor-in-chief. The list of scholars who are to present the original contributions is impressive. E. Merton Coulter's study on James Burrow will be the first to appear. Other works to follow are those of William B. Hesseltine, Weymouth T. Jordan, Joseph H. Parks, Jay Monaghan, Charles G. Summersell, Frank E. Vandiver, Charles S. Davis, Clement Eaton, Francis B. Simkins, James W. Silver, Avery

Craven, Frank L. Owsley, Richard B. Harwell, Gilbert E. Govan, and Hudson Strode. The editions will be limited to 450 numbered copies. The publisher is Confederate Publishing Company of Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

* * * *

In view of the publication in this number of MID–AMERICA of a summary of the papers read at the Toynbee Symposium, attention must be called to Professor Max Savelle's article in the *Pacific Historical Review* of February, 1956. In this, "The Philosophy of the General: Toynbee Versus the Naturalists," Savelle inclines to regard *A Study of History* "as one of the major events in the intellectual history of the twentieth century," and "a systematic and exhaustive *summa* of one philosophy of history." "Above all, however, it is a monumental religious tract—and herein lies, probably, its greatest significance—a bold, personal, highly subjective declaration of a reasoned faith for the times; a genuinely 'ecumenical' faith, historically based, that transcends in many ways the provincialism of a merely Western Christianity." Savelle shows in some detail how Toynbee's position will be in conflict with objective history, with the naturalists, rationalists, and empiricists, though he observes cautiously that "Arnold Toynbee may prove to be the prophet of a new era in the intellectual and spiritual life of mankind."

* * * *

As we were about to go to press a copy of the March, 1956, *Historical Bulletin* came to hand. Its entire text is taken up with two articles on the *Study*: "The Complete Toynbee: a Modest Appraisal," by Professor Thomas P. Neill, and "A Selective Bibliography on *A Study of History,*" by Phyllis O'Callaghan, a doctoral candidate studying under Professor Neill at St. Louis University. Each is a contribution to the literature on Toynbee, which now seems to be as bulky as one of the ten volumes that stimulated it.

Professor Neill grants that the *Study* is an important work, well planned and well developed. He immediately does away with what he considers the source of the confusion, saying: "Toynbee is not trying to write history. He is writing *about* history." His purpose

is to throw "additional light on the meaning of man's existence . . . and to justify the ways of God to man." Professor Neill then gives a survey of the great standard philosophies of history and shows their deviation from the Christian theory of history. In this philosophical setting he considers the "Former" Toynbee of the first six volumes and the "New" Toynbee of the last four volumes. The latter were influenced by Toynbee's personal problems, moral and religious, and by the disintegrating effects of World War II. In his appraisal, Neill points out that Toynbee does not provide an adequate philosophy of history, though he renews, in a way, the Christian tradition of history. He considers the *Study* an "impressive failure" yet a work that cannot be dismissed from further consideration and cannot be neglected. Neill then explains the values to be found in the *Study* and after fourteen pages comes to his concluding remarks. Having no scholarly background in any of the theologies and assuming no definite position with respect to the Founder of Christianity, Toynbee, Neill concludes, "is a different kind of Christian."

Miss O'Callaghan's selective bibliography divides Toynbee's critics "according to their respective points of attack." Most of the articles, reviews and debaters attack the validity of the *Study,* she finds, while only a few consider its pattern correct. The methodology used, the historical theories, the analogies, the fate of Western civilization, the sociological views—each has become subject to criticism or condemnation.

* * * *

Miracle of World War II. How American Industry Made Victory Possible, by Francis Walton, has March 25 of this year as its date of publication, has The Macmillan Company as its publisher, and has $7.50 as its list price. On the inner fold of the jacket in the space devoted to publicity the writer of the "commercial" exhausts his adjectives in describing the book as the story of the "stupendous accomplishment of American industry," an "amazing and inspiring . . . dramatically documented, comprehensive . . . authoritative . . . fascinating record of the greatest manufacturing job in the history of the world. . . ." Despite the chronic sales resistance of dour reviewers to such Hollywoodisms, there is indeed

much truth in the advertisement. In the preface to his 575 pages Mr. Walton states that he does not intend to present "a formal history but rather a chronicle of the trials, tribulations, and triumphs of the . . . American assembly line," and "of nearly 200,000 large and small businesses, their management, their employees, and how they produced between 1939 and 1945 war matériel with a value of $100,000,000,000."

Mr. Walton is well qualified to present this type of book by reason of his college training, his experience as a journalist on the staffs of two large metropolitan newspapers, his association with two giant industries, and his current occupation in public relations. To insure authoritativeness he called upon seventeen high ranking financeers and industrialists for help in details and statistics. He has organized his volume well and divided it into three Books, I: The Materials; II: The Means; III: The Catalyst. These are broken into respectively ten, seventeen, and fifteen chapters, each with a catchy heading. Thus, "A Gun for a Soldier" is a brief history of the U. S. Army rifles to the adoption of "U. S. Carbine .30 Ml." "The Floating Cinderellas" is the dramatic story of the building of seacraft to a point where American shipyards were producing six and a half merchant ships a day. Statistics of this kind might pall on the reader were they not presented by as facile and literary pen as that of Mr. Walton. They are broken by descriptions of the hardships, troubles, and waste involved in the vast organization of American industry.

The opening paragraph of this success story has elements of irony in view of the recent Soviet destruction of Stalin and the memories of Stalin. Mr. Walton cites the toast of Marshal Stalin at a party during the Teheran conference: "To American production, without which this war would have been lost." Of course Mr. Walton could not forsee that the Stalin of yesterday would be branded a coward, a murderer and a madman by his compatriots today.

This book will have a deep appeal to prideful Americans. It will add fuel to the flames of envy and even fear of the United States, if it is read in countries prone to resent our hegemony. For the Central Committee of the Soviet Union this record of widely organized assembly line production on a vast scale can be, if it already is not, a blueprint for industrial domination to become known as Khrushchevism, a one-party, committee rule of the world's produc-

tion, wherein all social, ethical, moral and constitutional values will be eradicated.

* * * *

They did not know until a few months ago who the author was of three novels based on life in North Carolina during the middle of the last century. Richard Walser found out and has presented his findings in *The North Carolina Historical Review* under the heading: "The Mysterious Case of George Higby Throop (1818-1896); or, The Search for the Author of the Novels *Nag's Head, Bertie,* and *Lynde Weiss.*" Professor Walser takes his readers through the many steps of his research in a thoroughly interesting manner while at the same time giving a touching biography of the unknown author, George Higby Throop, the New England tutor and schoolteacher, who devoted his life to the education of children in the South and died at seventy-seven in West Virginia.

* * * *

The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, which will soon celebrate its sixtieth birthday, devoted over half of the pages in the January, 1956, number of archival materials. Seymour V. Connor published "A Preliminary Guide to the Archives of Texas," in seventy pages. Though he has worked on this for two years he terms it "grossly incomplete" in that it is only the first step in the preparation of a catalogue, which will have to be prepared by archivists. There are listed astounding numbers of pieces in some file cases, as, for instance, 12,500 transcript pieces on the "Hetty Green Case," and under the heading "Treasurer, State," a total of 282,700 pieces and 285 manuscript books. To sort the useless from the important material and calendar the items will take the time of many archivists for many years. To add to the task, Lewis Hanke in an article on "Materials for Research on Texes History in European Archives and Libraries," asks for the establishment of an Historical Manuscript Commission, having a directive to gather all documents pertaining to Texas history from hitherto unexplored archives of Europe. Much work looms for the scholars of Texas. A sample of calendaring appears in the last pages of the number—"Calendar of Letters of Antonio Martínez, Last Spanish Governor of Texas, 1817–1822," by Virginia H. Taylor.

* * * *

The Palimpsest, published monthly by the State Historical Society of Iowa, gives over the entire February, 1956, number to a record of Iowa's contribution of manpower to the field of national diplomacy. Under the general heading "Iowans in the State Department and in Foreign Service," Homer L. Calkin, Chief of the Records Coordination Branch of the Division of Records Management of the Department of State, presents six papers and a number of illustrative pictures. After a survey of the growth of the Department of State since 1789, Mr. Calkin traces the gradual increase of the number of Iowans in foreign service since 1853. Next he devotes twenty pages to "Iowa Diplomats" from the appointment of Augustus C. Dodge as Minister to Spain in 1855 to the appointment of Max W. Bishop as Ambassador to Thailand in December of last year. A brief career sketch is given for each, as is done likewise in the following paper on "Iowans in the Consular Service." The last two papers are on the wide variety of assignments and the recent activities of Iowans in the international scene.

* * * *

Fellowships ranging from $500 to $2,500 will be given for satisfactory manuscripts in broad fields in the history of education by the Michigan Historical Commission through the John M. Munson Michigan History Fund upon acceptance of the manuscript by the Commission for publication. Fellowship will be in lieu of royalty and the Commission will own the manuscript. Supplementary grants in aid will be available to help bear the research and writing expenses, depending upon the applicant's needs. Applications received up to March 1, 1957, will be considered. Anyone wishing details and application blanks may write to Dr. Lewis Beeson, executive secretery, Michigan Historical Commission, Lewis Cass Building, Lansing 13, Michigan.

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John Bright and the British Attitude to the American Civil War

Even before the issues and character of the Civil War became clear, the British public began to discuss the implications of the American conflict. Humanitarians pointed to the antislavery possibilities involved in Northern victory, aristocrats openly avowed sympathy for the embattled Southern planters, and businessmen expressed fears that warfare would imperil the Lancashire textile industry as well as British commerce on the high seas. While these reactions echoed in the public forums, the British government issued a formal proclamation of neutrality on May 13, 1861.

Originally there was no strong preference for either American belligerent, but by early summer public sentiment drifted toward pro-Southern sympathy. Even the British liberals were being alienated by the North's reluctance to war against Negro slavery, and Northern fulminations at Britain's neutrality caused general irritation. Moreover, when the North suffered defeat at the battle of Bull Run, English observers began to doubt that the North could subdue the Confederacy. Since it appeared that the North was fighting only to reimpose political union and that the warfare would be prolonged, many Englishmen concluded that the North ought to abandon its efforts to prevent Southern independence.

While this prevailing attitude made England seem hostile to the Northern cause, John Bright emerged as the militant champion of the Union. For decades Bright had preached to England of the prosperity and freedom of the United States, and he had pointed to democratic institutions as the source of those blessings. Already committed to defense of the "American Experiment," Bright's

humanitarianism also led him to identify the Northern side with the cause of freedom. Thus, from the beginning of the secession crisis, John Bright did not hesitate in endorsement of "Mr. Lincoln's war."

But the pro-Southern English aristocracy denied Bright's postulates, and they seized upon the Civil War as an indictment of the American form of government. Forced upon the defensive by this onslaught, John Bright at first could do little but publicly urge Britain to observe strict neutrality toward the American belligerents. Thus, on May 28, 1861, Bright endorsed the ministry's neutrality proclamation, and he admonished Parliament to avoid all discussions that might increase the difficulty of maintaining that policy.[1] Two months later, in a by-election campaign speech, Bright emphasized that any intervention to break the blockade of the Southern ports would involve Britain in a costly and unjustifiable war with the United States. Pointing out that "the object of the Washington Government is to maintain their own Constitution . . . as it permits and requires," he warned that the people of England "will have no sympathy with those who wish to build up a great empire on the perpetual bondage of millions of their fellow-men."[2]

The Northern prospects darkened with continuing military reverses, and pro-Southern partisans renewed their attacks upon the Unionist cause. Temporarily disheartened by these developments, John Bright came to believe that the North would be obliged to accede to Southern secession.[3] Thus, while assuring his American friends of his continuing support, Bright privately confessed:

> I cannot see how the South with its vast territory is to be subdued . . . I am hoping for something that will enable you to negotiate. I have no sympathy with the South, their folly seems to be extreme, and I think their leading men, who have made this insurrection, are traitors to human nature itself. They have sought to overthrow the most free Government and the noblest constitution the world has ever seen, and they wish to decree the perpetual bondage of many millions of human beings. . . . If you are ever again one nation I shall rejoice in your greatness; if your Northern states are henceforth to form your nation, I shall still have faith in your greatness, and rejoice in your renown.[4]

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[1] Speech on May 28, 1861, Great Britain, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, CLXC, 192.

[2] Speech at Rochdale, Aug. 1, 1861, in Frank Moore (ed.), *Speeches of John Bright, M. P., on the American Question*, Boston, 1865, 3, 6-7.

[3] John Bright to Richard Cobden, Sept. 6, 1861, in G. M. Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright*, London, 1913, 302.

[4] Bright to Senator Charles Sumner, Sept. 6, 1861, "Bright-Sumner Letters, 1861–1872" in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, XLVI (October, 1913), 93–97.

Throughout the autumn months, however, Anglo-American relationships continued to deteriorate. Trade-conscious Britons resented the Union blockade of Southern ports, and the "Rule Britannia" element clamored that English vessels need not respect an illegal Northern policy. Just when the blockade issue was becoming serious, in early November, 1861, the Union sloop *San Jacinto* intercepted the British steamer *Trent* in Caribbean waters. Only after removing two Confederate diplomats, James M. Mason and John Slidell, did the American commander, Captain Charles Wilkes, permit the *Trent* to continue its voyage.

When the news of this incident reached England, a great storm of indignation swept the country. Not only did the British resent the *Trent* Affair as a flagrant violation of their rights on the high seas, but they took offense because the Northern jubilations over the seizure of Confederate agents endorsed disrespect for the British flag. Public opinion became so aroused that it seemed unlikely that war could be averted, and the ministry brusquely demanded that the United States release the Confederate emissaries and submit a formal apology for Captain Wilke's conduct.[5]

While the threat of Anglo-American war persisted, John Bright urgently endorsed moderation and conciliation. As soon as the first wave of British anger subsided, Bright mounted the public platform to review the American question. Portraying the Northern States as the defenders of freedom, the orator pleaded for sympathetic understanding of their war problems. Bright deprecated the idea that the United States was seeking a quarrel with England, and he expressed confidence that the *Trent* Affair had come as a surprise to the Washington government. Declaring that only wickedness could distort that incident into a cause of war, Bright implored his countrymen to remain calm. In addition to this appeal to the British public, he privately urged patience and moderation upon his friends in the British ministry.[6]

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[5] It was at this time that Henry Adams, son of the United States Ambassador to England, observed, "Our position here is of course very unpleasant just now.... This nation means to make war. Do not doubt it.... We have friends here still, but very few. Bright dined with us last night, and is with us, but... he is now wholly out of power and influence. Our friends are all very much cast down...." Letter to C. F. Adams, Jr., Nov. 30, 1861, in W. C. Ford (ed.), *A Cycle of Adams Letters 1861–1865*, 2 vols., Boston, 1920, I, 76.

[6] Speech at Rochdale, Dec. 4, 1861, in *The Times* (London), Dec. 6, 1861; Bright to J. Bigelow, Jan. 3, 1862, in R. B. O'Brien, *John Bright, A Monograph*, London, 1910, 145.

Simultaneously he endeavored to impress the Union regime with the need for displaying a conciliatory attitude. Transmitting his views via Senator Charles Sumner, Bright warned that British sentiment was dangerously belligerent, and he advised that the United States should propose arbitration of the *Trent* dispute.[7] Moreover, when Lincoln's cabinet met to consider a reply to the British diplomatic ultimatum, Senator Sumner was in attendance to convey a further admonition from John Bright. "If you are resolved to succeed against the South, *have no war with England;* make every concession that can be made; don't even hesitate to tell the world *that you will even concede what two years ago no Power would have asked of you,* rather than give another nation a pretence for assisting in the breaking up of your country."[8]

After pondering this advice, and similar recommendations by Secretary of State William H. Seward, the Northern Cabinet decided to release the Confederate commissioners. News of this outcome soon reached England, and there it was cordially received. Britain, having found the prospect of a Confederate alliance and involvement in American warfare none too pleasant, welcomed a costless diplomatic victory.

Bright hastened to report the British reaction to his American friends. "I need not tell you how much I rejoice, or how much I admire the dignity and tact with which the matter has been dealt with in the dispatch of your Government . . . . ," he wrote. "The war-mongers here are baffled for the time, and I cannot but believe that a more healthy opinion is gradually extending itself on all matters connected with your great struggle." The truth of this optimistic observation soon became apparent, for British sentiment began to display a pro-Northern reaction.[9]

Determined to force the government to recognize the new public mood, Bright precipitated new Parliamentary discussions concerning Anglo-American affairs. In conjunction with debates over appropriations for military contingents sent to Canada, he attacked the

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[7] Bright to Sumner, Nov. 29, Dec. 5, 7, 14, 1861, in "Letters of John Bright, 1861–1862" in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings,* XLV, (November, 1912) 148–155. Sumner sent the letters to President Lincoln and the Cabinet. Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner,* 4 vols., Boston, 1894, IV, 147; *The Diaries of John Bright,* ed. by R. A. J. Walling, New York, 1931, 254–256, 290.

[8] Bright to Sumner, Dec. 14, 1861, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings,* XLV, 155.

[9] Bright to Sumner, Jan. 11, 1862, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings,* XLV, 156; Donaldson Jordan and Edwin Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War,* Boston, 1931, 46.

deployment of troops as a menace which had antagonized the United States. Furthermore, he emphasized that a majority of the public had grown friendly toward the Washington Government because they believed that through the Civil War the North was destined to free the 4,000,000 slaves in America.[10] Lord Palmerston spoke in defense of the ministry's policy, but his attitude was now noticeably moderate in tone. The general trend of debate proved favorable toward neutrality, and thereafter government policy was less belligerent toward the Union.[11]

Meanwhile, slowly but steadily, the Northern blockade of Southern ports was disrupting Britain's cotton textile industry. The cotton mills were 80% dependent upon American raw materials, and even the large stock of raw cotton carried over from 1860 gradually dwindled. By December, 1861, the blockade had almost completely stopped importation of Confederate cotton, and thereafter the Lancashire mills either drastically curtailed production or completely suspended operations. These dislocations caused serious distress, either directly or indirectly, for approximately one-fifth of the British population.[12]

Resentment arising from the Lancashire depression found expression in demands that England forcibly break the naval blockade and thus restore access to Southern cotton. In early 1862, therefore, John Bright again felt it advisable to mitigate growing public hostility. In a widely publicized speech before the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, he discussed the cotton famine and restated the case for neutrality toward the United States. Citing his Parliamentary speeches of 1847 and 1850, in which he had warned that dependence upon a slave-produced cotton supply was dangerous and that cotton production in India should be developed, Bright contended that neglect of those admonitions had contributed to Lancashire's plight. Now that the Northern blockade had proved effective and therefore legal, he warned his countrymen not to provoke a war with the Northern States. In a strong peroration Bright concluded:

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10 Speech on Feb. 17, 1862, *Hansard*, 3rd Series, CLXV, 382–387.

11 *Diaries of John Bright*, 257; Bright to Sumner, Feb. 27, 1862, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, XLVI, 102–105.

Henry Adams observed, "Parliament has met and the speeches have been very favorable to neutrality. I think our work here is past its crisis. The insurgents will receive no aid from Europe, and so far are beaten. Our victory is won on this side the water.... John Bright is my favorite Englishman. He is very pleasant, cheerful and courageous and much more sanguine than I have usually been...." Letter to C. F. Adams, Jr., Feb. 14, 1862, in *Cycle of Adams Letters*, I, 113.

I say nothing could be more ignorant or foolish than the idea that the United States as at present existing and governed from Washington is a power to be treated as though it formed a few disconnected provinces, a prey to anarchy, which anybody may insult and injure at his pleasure. I believe I speak the sentiment of the merchants, manufacturers, spinners, and work-people of Lancashire when I say that . . . any of those schemes of interference and war which certain politicians and newspapers advocate would not only be perilous but absolutely fatal to the interests of our country. If cotton be now 1s. per lb., you could not get it from America through war at less than 5s. per lb. And if there be families—and I know there are hundreds, and, perhaps, thousands—who scarcely know where to-morrow's food is to come from, still it would be cheaper . . . to subsidize them till better times come round, rather than engage in an unjust and violent attempt to break a legal blockade, and to declare war against a people anxious to be friendly with us . . . . I believe the interests of Lancashire at this moment depend on a perfect, and, I should add friendly, neutrality on the part of our Government.[13]

However, the cotton famine continued to cause restivity, and by spring the Union blockade became a political issue. In March pro-Southern politicians brought an antiblockade resolution before the House of Commons, but the debates proved inconclusive and the proposal failed to secure passage. This failure notwithstanding, in June there was debate upon a motion advocating mediation of the American warfare and recognition of the Confederacy. Again the requisite majority was lacking; and after final consideration was postponed, the resolution was ultimately withdrawn. Despite the Parliamentary maneuvers of 1862, the policy of neutrality prevailed.[14]

Month by month, however, the Lancashire crisis intensified. The cotton mills had been running on reduced time since October, and by April the operatives were averaging only half time employment. In September there was only a three week's supply of raw cotton in the warehouses, almost all of the factories had stopped production, and over 400,000 mill hands were unemployed. By late 1862 four-fifths of the cotton workers had been reduced to dependence upon charity, and at least 2,000,000 Britons suffered privations traceable to the cotton famine.[15]

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[12] *The Times*, Sept. 19, 1861; J. H. Park, "The English Workingmen and the American Civil War," in *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXIX (Sept., 1924), 432–433.

[13] Speech at Birmingham, Feb. 5, 1862, *The Times*, Feb. 6, 1862.

[14] *Diaries of John Bright*, 258; Ephraim D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (2 vols., London, 1925), I, 268–272.

[15] F. L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, Chicago, 1931, 149, 153–154, 157–158.

With one-third of England's industrial population unemployed and destitute, public opinion naturally focused upon the cause of the crisis. Few Englishmen believed that the American nation could be forcibly reunited, and the London press now clamored for governmental intervention to stop the American warfare. By autumn Lords Palmerston and Russell were ready to adopt this policy, and in October even the great Liberal, William E. Gladstone, publicly declared, "There is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either—they have made a nation.... We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States so far as regards their separation from the North."[16]

This situation caused John Bright to multiply his efforts as the champion of the Northern cause. Realizing that the attitude of Lancashire would be crucial in determining any departure from British neutrality, Bright virtually deserted his seat in Parliament to rally the distressed industrial masses in support of the North. Throughout the last half of 1862, therefore, he indefatigably proclaimed that the freedom of the British workingman hinged upon the preservation of the American Union.

The climax of this campaign came in Bright's speech in Birmingham on December 17. Not only did he discuss the salient aspects of the cotton famine, but he eloquently repudiated British intervention in the American hostilities. Answering those who demanded immediate reopening of access to American cotton, he asserted that such proposals were futile because wartime chaos had prevented any extensive production of cotton in the South and because "there never will be again in America a crop of cotton grown by slave labour." He contended that the welfare of Lancashire could only be safeguarded by the development of adequate cotton acreage in India; and to those impatient at the delay involved, he

[16] *The Times*, Oct. 9, 1862; Bright to Sumner, Oct. 10, 1862, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, XLVI, 108–110.

Bright's reaction to this speech was bitter: "You will see what is being said here by public men who speak on your question, and most of all, and *worst of all*, by your old acquaintance and friend, Mr. Gladstone. He has made a vile speech at Newcastle, full of insulting pity for the North, and of praise and support for the South. He is unstable as water in some things. He is for union and freedom in Italy, and for disunion and bondage in America.... I have known for months past that he talked of an European remonstrance, or mediation, or recognition, or some mischief of that kind, but I did not expect that he would step out openly as the defender and eulogist of Jeff. Davis and his fellow conspirators against God and man." Letter to Sumner, Oct. 10, 1862, in *Ibid.*, XLVI, 108–110.

replied that "100 years of crime against the Negroes in America and against the docile natives of India are not to be washed away by the sufferings and penitence of an hour."

Turning to a discussion of the American warfare, Bright declared that the South had no just cause for disrupting the American nation and he described the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter as an overt act of aggression. In contrast to this justification of the Northern war effort, the orator made a slashing attack upon the Confederacy:

> If, however, we come to the point of sympathy for the South, or recognition of her, or mediation, or intervention, we should consider what is her aim. . . . Is there a man here who doubts for a moment that the aim of the South is to maintain and perpetuate the bondage of four millions of human beings? Yes, her object is to make secure that a handful of white men on that Continent shall lord it over millions of men made black by the very hand that made us white. Her object is to retain the powers to breed negroes, to lash negroes, to chain them, to buy and sell negroes, to deny them the enjoyment of the commonest family ties, to break their hearts by rending them at pleasure, to close their mental eye against a glimpse of that knowledge which separates us from brute creation. . . . I wish to know, then, whether this is to be made the foundation as is promised of a new slave empire, whether it is intended that on this audacious and infernal basis a new alliance for England is to be built up. . . .

Then, after denouncing Britain's statesmen and journalists for their refusal to support the cause of freedom, Bright concluded with an eloquent appeal to both the laboring class and the liberal minded citizenry:

> Despite the aristocracy's pleasure in the prospective disintegration of the American republic, I maintain, after all, that the people do not err. Free states are the home of the workingman. . . . In America there are no six millions of grown men excluded by the Constitution from political rights; there is a free church, free schools, a free hand, a free vote, a free career for the child of the humblest. . . . The leaders of this revolt propose by their constitution this simple thing—that over a territory some forty times as large as England the blight and bondage of slavery shall be forever perpetuated. I cannot myself believe in such a fate befalling that fair land, stricken though it now be with the ravages of war; I cannot believe that civilization in its journey with the sun will sink into endless night to gratify the ambitions of the leaders of this revolt, who seek 'to wade through slaughter to a throne, and shut the gates of mercy on mankind.' I have another and far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision, but I will still cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in one unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic to the calmer waters of the Pacific main, and I see one people

and one law and one language and one faith, and over that wide continent the home of freedom and a refuge for the oppressed of every race.[17]

Not content with his speech making role, John Bright initiated other propaganda maneuvers. In collaboration with W. E. Forster, he organized a series of pro-Northern meetings in the textile district.[18] Moreover, to offset antiblockade mobilizations, he invited American contributions of foodstuffs for charitable distribution among the starving mill hands. "If a few cargoes of flour could come, say 50,000 barrels, as a gift from persons in your Northern States to the Lancashire working-men," he suggested, ". . . such a token of your good will would cover with confusion all those who talk against you."[19] Soon thereafter a Northern public subscription raised funds to send three shiploads of flour to Britain. The distribution of these cargoes enabled Bright to direct attention to Northern friendship for the British laboring classes, and it provided occasion for another mass meeting which expressed the gratitude of Lancashire's unemployed.[20]

Although the Bright-Forster agitation effectively checkmated hostility toward the North, many Britons remained dubious about the Union government's antislavery zeal. In September of 1862, however, President Lincoln announced his intention to liberate all slaves in those areas which continued in a state of rebellion. Thereafter British popular sentiment veered in favor of the Union cause.

After Lincoln formally published his Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, sizeable crowds joined in pro-Union demonstrations in the major cities. Not only was Bright a conspicuous participant in many of these mass meetings, but he also served as a spokesman to present resolutions of commendation to the United States embassy.[21] The cumulative effect of this agitation caused Henry Adams to report, "The Emancipation Proclamation has done more for us here than all our former victories and all our diplomacy. It is creating an almost convulsive reaction in our favor all over this country."[22] By February John Bright also felt confident that

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17 Speech at Birmingham, Dec. 17, 1862, *The Times*, Dec. 18, 1862.

18 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 188, 566.

19 Bright to Sumner, Dec. 6, 1862, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, XLV, 110–112.

20 *The Times*, Feb. 4, 1863; John Watts, *Facts of the Cotton Famine*, London, 1866, n.p.

21 *Diaries of John Bright*, 262; Park, *English Workingmen and American Civil War*, 437, 438.

22 Letter to C. F. Adams, Jr., Jan. 23, 1863, in *Cycle of Adams Letters*, I, 243. His father, the U. S. ambassador, expressed a similar conclusion. C. F. Adams to C. F. Adams, Jr., Jan. 23, 1863, *Ibid.*, I, 236.

there was solid ground for optimism. "Opinion here has changed greatly," he enthused to an American friend. "In almost every town great meetings are being held to pass resolutions in favor of the North, and the advocates of the South are pretty much put down."[23]

Nevertheless, new neutrality issues were creating another Anglo-American crisis. In 1862 the South had contracted with the Laird shipyards for the construction of several commerce raiders, and by summer the first vessel was nearly ready for delivery. Presenting evidence that "No. 299" was soon to become the Confederate warship *Alabama,* the U. S. Ambassador officially called Lord John Russell's attention to this violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. But governmental procrastination allowed the *Alabama* to depart on July 29, 1862; and thereafter this ship wreaked havoc upon Northern merchantmen. As reports of the *Alabama's* depredations reached America, the North became enraged. The Union press fulminated against England's unneutrality and Ambassador Charles Francis Adams harassed the Foreign Office with claims for damages. These protests, however, proved of no avail. Indeed, at the height of the *Alabama* crisis, Confederate agents contracted for construction of two ironclad rams specially designed to attack the Northern blockade squadrons.[24]

The intensity of Anglo-Union tension soon induced the "Champion of the North" to renew his propaganda activities. Urging his fellow citizens to reevaluate their government's policy, Bright presented the *Alabama* question from the Northern perspective. "In America they say, I know not how truly, that she is a ship of war which was built by a member of the British Parliament, furnished with guns and ammunition of English manufacture, manned and sailed almost exclusively by Englishmen. . . . She has never been in a Confederate port. She hoists the English flag when she wants to come alongside any ship . . . and afterwards robs and burns it."[25] Subsequently, in other speeches, Bright warned that the *Alabama* affair contained the seeds of an unjustifiable war. The South would

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[23] Bright to Cyrus W. Field, Feb. 27, 1863, in Trevelyan, *Life of Bright,* 321. In an earlier letter he had declared, "You will see what meetings are being held here in favor of your emancipation policy, and of the North in general. I think in every town in the Kingdom a public meeting would go by an overwhelming majority in favor of President Lincoln and of the North." Bright to Sumner, Jan. 30, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings,* XLVI, 113–114.

[24] Douglas H. Maynard, "Union efforts to prevent the escape of the Alabama," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLI (June, 1954) 46–51.

[25] Speech in Birmingham, Dec. 18, *The Times,* Dec. 19, 1862.

manipulate the situation to involve Britain in the American hostilities, he contended, and Englishmen must beware lest they find themselves engaged in warfare which could perpetuate human slavery.[26]

Simultaneously, near the end of March, the critics of the ministry's policy opened Parliamentary debate upon the issues involved in British construction of Confederate war vessels. In these debates Bright sharply attacked the government for its "cold and unfriendly neutrality" toward the United States, and he denounced the construction of the Laird rams as "just as nefarious as the building of the *Alabama* was." Warning that such policies jeopardized future Anglo-American amity, he urged the Ministry "to prevent the sailing of these vessels which . . . [will] embroil us with that nation. . . ."[27] Other speakers joined in heated discussion of Britain's neutrality, and the repercussions echoed outside the House of Commons. The cumulative effect of attacks upon national policy, however, caused a considerable stirring of British chauvinism. Increasingly the public displayed antagonism to pro-Union complaints, and even Bright had to admit that the debates had been "badly managed and told against us."[28]

Thereafter, while Northern military fortunes declined to their nadir, pro-Southerners agitated for diplomatic recognition of the Confederate States of America. Ultimately J. A. Roebuck introduced a Parliamentary resolution endorsing this policy, and he bulwarked his case by pledging that Napoleon III would collaborate in Confederate recognition. Bright immediately launched a bitter counterattack. Not only did he remind the House of Commons that Roebuck had earlier described Napoleon III as perjured, untrustworthy, and hostile to Britain, but he further declared that diplomatic intervention would embroil England in the American war. Moreover, if the South should thereby attain independence, Bright warned that England would share responsibility for reenslavement of Negroes freed by Lincoln's emancipation policy and that Lancashire would be returned to dependence upon a precarious slave-produced cotton supply. This powerful indictment effectively doomed the pro-Confederate resolution. Though the eloquent Gladstone replied that Northern efforts to restore the Union were certain to fail,

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[26] Speeches at Rochdale on Feb. 3 and at London, March 26. *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, March 27, 1863.

[27] Speech on March 27, 1863, *Hansard*, 3rd Series, CLXX, 62–67.

[28] Bright to Sumner, April 4, 1863, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, XLVI, 114–115.

Roebuck's motion was saved from defeat only by the adjournment of Parliament.[29]

Meanwhile, outside the House of Commons, Bright strove to unite both workingmen and middle-class liberals into an active pro-Northern coalition. Repeatedly he mounted the public platform to proclaim that the Union cause represented a crusade for the preservation of human rights and liberties. He reiterated that the South had launched an unjustified rebellion, and he reaffirmed that the Confederacy was primarily dedicated to the perpetuation of slavery. In the South the relationships between capital and labor were solved by making labor a form of property, hence a Southern triumph would challenge the ideal of an equalitarian society wherever it might exist. Only in the Northern States of America, Bright reminded his compatriots, had the common man achieved full personal and political rights. Pointing to a mutual interest in the maintenance of free institutions, the orator urged that the Union cause deserved British admiration, gratitude, and friendship.[30]

These propaganda efforts reached their climax in his address to the London Trade Unions. Designed "to widen. . . [the American] question and to show its transcendent importance to labor all over the world,"[31] it did much to convince Englishmen that the North was fighting the battle of democracy. Here, scaling new peaks of oratorical effectiveness, he proclaimed:

> It is . . . a question of a whole continent with its teeming millions, and what shall be their present and their future fate. It is for those millions, and among them, a question of freedom or slavery, education or ignorance, light or darkness, Christian morality or an overshadowing and all-blasting guilt. . . .
>
> Let us take the two sections of the country which are now engaged in this fearful struggle. In the one, labour is honoured more than elsewhere in the world; there, more than in any other country, men rise to competence and independence, and no honest pursuit is thwarted by the law. In the other section labour is not only not honoured, but it is degraded; there the labourer is made a chattel; he is no more his own master than the horse that drags the omnibus through the next street . . . . [already there are those who hold] that it is not the black man only who should be a slave. . . .
>
> You wish for freedom . . . [hence] do not think of giving the hand

[29] Speech on June 30, 1863, *Hansard*, 3rd Series, CLXXI, 1824–1838; *Diaries of J. Bright*, 265–266.

[30] Speeches delivered at Rochdale on Feb. 3, at the London Trades Unions meeting on March 26, and for the Union and Emancipation Society. See *The Times*, Feb. 4, March 27, June 17, 1863.

[31] Bright to Sumner, April 4, 1863, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, XLVI, 114–115.

of friendship or of fellowship to the worst foes of freedom the world has ever seen. . . . I have faith in you. Impartial history will tell that when your statesmen were hostile or coldly neutral—when many of your rich men were corrupt, when your press has been mainly written to betray your faith in that vast continent whose population are of your own kindred—you clung to freedom with unfaltering trust; and be assured that God in his mercy will yet make it the heritage of all His children.[32]

The response to such overtures was encouraging, and Bright felt that he could take a vacation from public agitation. Nevertheless, since the American military situation remained crucial, he carefully studied the British reaction to each new battle. When Vicksburg and Gettysburg seemed to turn the tide in favor of the North, Bright broke a long silence to report his observations to his American friends. "Our press is being converted, our Government will be civil, and our Secessionists will become ashamed of themselves . . . ," he wrote. "You will hear by this mail that the ironclad steam rams are detained by the Government . . . . I suppose the changed position of your affairs has helped our Foreign Office to the decision they have come to!"[33] Bright continued his policy of quiet vigilance, and by autumn he noted a marked decline in anti-Northern sentiment. To Senator Sumner he commented, "Neutrality is agreed upon by all, and I hope a more fair or friendly neutrality than we have seen during the past two years. There are still heard some voices against you . . . but I can see and feel all around me that another tone prevails and that the confident predictions as to your failure are uttered much less frequently even by the most rash of your opponents."[34]

By 1864 the critical period of Anglo-Union relations was over. A series of factors—Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Bright's propaganda campaign of 1863, and the Northern military victories—had combined to undercut pro-Southern sentiment in England. Henceforth Britain was disposed to maintain neutrality toward the American belligerents.

Well aware of this state of affairs, John Bright nevertheless continued to guard Northern interests. Returning to the public platform in January, he delivered a strong warning that England must not backslide in its neutrality. Shortly thereafter Parliament

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[32] Speech at the London Trades Unions meeting, March 26, 1863, *The Times*, March 27, 1863.

[33] Bright to Sumner, Sept. 11, 1863, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, XLVI, 124–126.

[34] Bright to Sumner, Nov. 20, 1863, *Ibid.*, XLVI, 126–127.

again convened, and Bright resumed his seat in the House of Commons. Then, when J. A. Roebuck revived a proposal for British recognition of the Confederacy, he presented a devastating rebuttal. Thereafter the pro-Confederates relinquished their efforts for Parliamentary interventionism, and Bright was content to resume a policy of watchful waiting.[35]

By early 1865 the Union cause had gained considerable ground in England. The cumulative impact of Bright's propaganda, bolstered by major Northern military victories, had consolidated Britain's workingman and middle class liberals into a strong pro-Northern popular front. Rejoicing at this fruition of his hopes, Bright felt certain that England would henceforth spurn all pro-Confederate proposals. "Opinion now is becoming unanimous that the South cannot win, and by and by all will wish the rebels would at once submit. . . ," he reassured Sumner. Several weeks later, deprecating the possibility of European intervention in the American hostilities, he declared: "*All parties and classes* here are resolved on a strict neutrality, and I believe there is an honest intention that no *further* cause of irritation or quarrel shall come from this side."[36]

As the Civil War neared an end, however, a few Britons expressed fears that Union grievances might ultimately beget an Anglo-American war. Fearing that such agitation might encourage eleventh-hour pro-Southern Confederacy interventionism, John Bright felt it advisable to offer a public refutation. In a vigorous and witty speech, he freely criticized Britain's recent unneutrality but he also expressed confidence that the Union government would refrain from retaliations.[37]

Very soon, however, England received word of the Confederate surrender at Appomattox. Now that the Southern rebellion was over, John Bright wrote a personal valedictory. In his diary he observed:

> This may be taken to be the end of the great and wicked rebellion. Slavery has measured itself with Freedom, and Slavery has perished in the struggle. How often have I longed and prayed for this result, and how much have I suffered from anxiety while it has been slowly working out, I only know! This great triumph of the Republic is the event of our age, and future ages will confess it, for they will be better able than . . . [we]

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35 Speech at Birmingham, Jan. 26, 1864, in *The Times*, Jan. 27, 1864; *Diaries of John Bright*, 272, 282; Bright to Sumner, Sept. 2, 1864, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, XLVI, 128–131.

36 Bright to Sumner, Jan. 26, Feb. 17, 1865, *Ibid.*, XLVI, 132–136.

37 Speech of March 13, 1865, *Hansard*, 3rd Series, CLXXVII, 1614–1634.

to estimate the gain to freedom and humanity which will spring from it. I have had an almost unfaltering faith from the beginning, and I now rejoice more than I can tell that the cause of personal freedom and free government has triumphed. The friends of freedom everywhere should thank God and take courage. They may believe that the world is not forsaken by Him who made and rules it."[38]

* * * *

Though John Bright was not the only Englishman who aided the Union government, he was the pre-eminent champion of the Northern cause. When the press, the oligarchic leaders, and the Parliament made England appear favorable to the South, Bright capably and courageously campaigned for British neutrality. In the House of Commons he led efforts that checkmated pro-Confederate schemes, and from the public platform he rallied support for the North in the name of human rights and liberties. Of all the British voices raised in behalf of the Union cause, John Bright's was the most eloquent, the most positive and unfaltering, and by far the most influential.

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[38] *Diaries of John Bright,* 289–290.

The Jefferson Davis–William H. Bissell Duel

During the heat of the debate on the Compromise of 1850 an exchange between Jefferson Davis, Senator from Mississippi, and William H. Bissell, Representative from Illinois, nearly resulted in a duel between the two men and occasioned much political comment. Out of this political comment, primarily by Illinois journalists, grew a considerable legend of the bravery of Bissell. A letter written by Davis describing the incident was recently turned up in the Illinois State Historical Library. Since the incident is mentioned prominently in most of the histories of the times, it is worth examining the known facts, the growth of the legend, and finally what Jefferson Davis recalled of the incident many years later.

The incident grew out of a speech by Representative James A. Seddon of Virginia on January 23, 1850, on the floor of the House of Representatives. Seddon, commenting on the bravery and chivalry of the South, spoke as follows:

> And on that memorable field of Buena Vista, at that most critical juncture, when all seemed lost save honor, again should his heart bound with hope as he [Zachary Taylor] hailed the approach of the noble regiment of Mississippians, and beheld them steady and undismayed (through the very midst of the brave but unfortunate troops of the North, then, through a mistaken order discomfited and in rout,) with souls untouched by panic, and nerved to do or die, march onward—right onward on the countless foe, and with the invincible prowess snatch from the very jaws of death rescue and victory.[1]

Seddon was commenting on the bravery of the Mississippi regiment commanded by Jefferson Davis and on the feeling of General Zachary Taylor as Davis, his son-in-law, allegedly charged up and saved a lost cause.

Almost a month later, as the debate went on, Congressman Albert G. Brown of Mississippi in a speech estimated that there were eight million freemen in the South. At this point Bissell arose and remarked that this was an exaggeration and that there were actually only about half that number. He referred to this as an example of "the proneness of our southern friends to exaggerate all their capabilities." In the course of his speech, he went on to say:

[1] *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. 22, Appendix, part 1, 78.

This proneness, however, is not always harmless; and I must now refer to a subject which I would gladly have avoided. I allude to the claim put forth for a southern regiment, by the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Seddon] of having met and repulsed the enemy on the field of Buena Vista, and at that most critical moment when the second Indiana regiment, through an unfortunate order of their colonel, gave way, justice to the living, as well as to those who fell on that occasion, demand of me a prompt correction of this most erroneous statement, and I affirm distinctly sir, and such is the fact, that at the time the Second Indiana Regiment gave way, the Mississippi regiment, for whom this claim is thus gratuitously set up, was not within a mile and a half of the scene of action; nor had it as yet fired a gun, or drawn a trigger. I affirm further, sir, that the troops which at that time met and registered the enemy, and thus, to use the gentleman's own language, "snatched victory from the jaws of defeat," were the second Kentucky, the second Illinois, and a portion of the first Illinois regiments.

In all this, however, I by no means detract from the gallant conduct and bearing of the Mississippi regiment. At other times and places on that bloody field, they did all that their warmest admirers could have desired.[2]

Almost immediately rumors began to circulate that Jefferson Davis, always proud of his military career, had challenged Bissell. The news was slow to make its way into the hinterlands and Illinois newspapers had to make shift with the barest facts for a time. Five days after Bissell's speech, the *Springfield Daily Register* carried a little squib on the matter:

A DUEL—COL. BISSELL & JEFF DAVIS

Washington, Feb. 26

There is a duel arrayed between Col. Bissell of Illinois and Col. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, for remarks of the former in the house, in regard to the battle of Buena Vista—both good shots, and both may be killed. Strong efforts are making to reconcile the parties.[3]

The affair had been settled before there was any mention of the matter again in Springfield. On March 6, 1850, the Washington *Daily National Intelligencer* printed in full the speech of Bissell and then printed three letters contributed by the friends of the two antagonists. The first of the letters was to explain the last two:

Washington, Feb. 27, 1850

Gentlemen: In order to remove any erroneous impressions which may have been made on the public mind, by the surmises of letter writers, in relation to a correspondence which has passed between Col. Davis and Col. Bissell, we take the liberty of requesting you to publish the following correspondence

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2 *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. 22, Appendix, part 1, 228.
3 *Springfield* (Illinois) *Daily Register*, February 27, 1850, 2.

which will show that the matter has been most honorably adjusted to the gratification of their mutual friends

Jas. Shields
S. W. Inge.

Then follows the letter of inquiry of Jefferson Davis:

Washington, February 22, 1850

Sir: I am informed that in yesterday's debate you asserted that at the time it was claimed for the Mississippi regiment, on the field of Buena Vista, to have passed through the scattered files of the 2d Indiana regiment, and to have met the Mexican forces, who had routed and were pursuing that regiment, the Mississippi regiment was not within one mile and a half of that particular spot.

Not having been able to find a "report" of your remarks, and being the proper person to answer any charge which a responsible man may make against the Mississippi regiment referred to, I take this mode of asking whether the information I have received is correct.

Yours Respectfully,

Jeff Davis

Hon. Mr. Bissell

Then follows a reply from Bissell:

Washington, February 22, 1850

Sir: In your note of this date you inquire whether I asserted, in yesterday's debate, that "at the time . . . [follows a quotation from the above note from Jefferson Davis] that particular spot."

The best answer I can give to your inquiry is to state what I did say, which was this: That, "*at the time* the 2nd Indiana *gave way,* the Mississippi regiment was not within a mile and a half of the scene of action." This substantially was all I said in reference to the *Mississippi regiment.* I also said that the 2nd Kentucky, 2nd Illinois, and a portion of the 1st Illinois regiments, were the troops that, at that time, met and repulsed the advancing columns of the enemy. In my remarks, I referred to what occurred at "that particular spot" at that point of time.

Having answered your inquiry, I deem it due, in justice to myself and the Mississippi regiment, to say that I made no charge against that regiment, but am willing to award them the credit due to their gallant and distinguished services in that battle. My only object was to do justice to the character of others, living and dead, whose conduct fell under my observation on that occasion—a duty imposed upon me by remarks previously made in the course of the same debate.

Very respectfully yours, etc.

W. H. Bissell.[4]

Hon. Jeff Davis.

[4] *Washington Daily National Intelligencer,* March 6, 1850, 1–2. The same correspondence also appeared in the Washington *Union* on February 28 and was eventually reprinted in the Springfield, Illinois, papers. *Springfield Daily Journal,* March 13, 1850, 2. *Springfield Daily Register,* March 12, 1850, 2.

These are the facts as they were known at the time. Due to the eagerness of Illinois and the slowness with which the facts trickled to Illinois the Springfield papers printed almost every account that could reach them. The legend began to grow. On March 6, 1850, the *Daily Register* printed an account which had come to them by the "telegraph" in which it was said that the difficulty had been settled by intervention of President Zachery Taylor. The *Register* went on to say that the terms of the duel were "muskets —fifteen paces." They also remarked that since both men were good shots the duel would "probably have termidated [sic] fatally to both."[5] The following day the *Journal* carried another account of "THE GALLANT BISSELL" in which, although he admitted that he had not seen an account of it, the editor went on to describe the speech: "He touched up the chivalry in beautiful style. He said he was tired of hearing the eternal ding dong of Southern chivalry."[6] The same day the *Register* printed stories from the *Louisville Journal* and the *Baltimore American*. These were reasonable accounts of the speeches of both Seddon and Bissell.[7] On March 8, 1850, the *Register* added to the legend as follows:

> Col. Bissell's speech.—The speech of Col. Bissell, alluded to in our yesterdays paper, has not yet been received, although it was delivered on the 20th. It is spoken of by the papers as a brilliant effort. A letter from one of his colleagues to us, received last night, says: "It is admitted by everybody to be the best speech delivered this session.—50,000 copies of it were subscribed for within ten minutes after he concluded."[8]

As time went on the affair still claimed the interest of Illinois. The *Register* on March 11 reported a speech of Col. E. D. Baker in which he backed the position of Bissell and "gave a thrilling account of that gentleman's heroism at Buena Vista."[9] Then on March 12 and 13 both Springfield papers reprinted the correspondence that had appeared in the Washington papers. On March 14 the *Register* carried another account which had come out of Washington, of speeches which had occasioned the disagreement, and then described the correspondence thus:

> On Friday Mr. Inge of Alabama, bore a note from Col. Davis to Col. Bissell, in which he enumerated a long rigmarole as to what he had under-

5 *Springfield Daily Register*, March 6, 1850, 2.
6 *Springfield Daily Journal*, March 7, 1850, 2.
7 *Springfield Daily Register*, March 7, 1850, 2.
8 *Ibid.*, March 8, 1850, 2.
9 *Ibid.*, March 11, 1850, 2.

stood Col. Bissell had said in his speech, touching the Mississippi regiment, and inquiring, of him, whether he had made such statements. To this Col. Bissell replied in a frank, manly manner, that he could answer best his note, by setting out what he did say, upon the occasion to which Col. Davis had alluded. He then gave, word for word, all that was uttered by him, and his note was borne to Mr. Inge as the friend of Davis, by Gen. Shields. On Saturday, a second note was conveyed to Col. Bissell [sic] through the same channel, saying in effect that the Mississippi regiment claimed, in the language of Brigd. Gen. Lane's report having saved the fortunes of the day, and the inquiry was categorically put to Col. Bissell, whether he had disputed the claim. The same night, Col. Bissell replied, that the action to which he alluded in his speech was at an entirely different period in the battle, from that upon which Gen. Lane had based the report to which Col. Davis alluded, and that as a matter of course he did not call in question, the report of Gen. Lane. This note was kept under consideration some little while in which I have good reason for believing and saying Mr. Brown of Mississippi, and Mr. Dawson of Georgia, were consulted in addition to Mr. Inge, when the note was returned to Gen. Shields as the friend of Col. Bissell as not being satisfactory. The friend of Davis was informed, that Col. Bissell had no other reply to make, and today it is expected that Davis will send Bissell a challenge. I need not say to you, you know Col. Bissell as well as I do, that it will be promptly accepted, and the meeting fixed at an early day.[10]

On March 22, 1850, a full month after Bissell's speech, it was again reprinted in full in the *Register* where it was described as "a lofty production" which had marked Bissell "as one of the ablest men of the House."[11]

After this the matter was allowed to rest for some six years. In 1856 Bissell was standing for election to the Governorship of Illinois as the candidate of the newly-formed Republican Party. At this point the Bissell-Davis affair was recalled and used as campaign propaganda to further the interests of Bissell. Now the legend began to take on really heroic proportions. The *Journal* reprinted a story from the *Chicago Democratic Press*:

The disunionists, enraged at the telling character of his analysis of the slavery question, at its rigid and unanswerable logic, seized upon his remarks relative to that hotly-contested field as a pretext for silencing so bold and able an opponent. Jefferson Davis, the present Secretary of War, then a U. S. Senator from Mississippi was selected by the south for this purpose. A challenge was forthwith dispatched to Col. Bissell, and as promptly accepted. Washington City was on the *qui vive*. 'Will he accept?' 'Will he stand fire?' Western men, who knew him, said 'Yes.' Some who

10 *Springfield Daily Register*, March 14, 1850, 2.
11 *Ibid.*, March 22, 1850, 1, 4.

had shared with him the perils and hard fighting of the Mexican campaign, said 'Yes' with such indignant emphasis that the query was not repeated to them.

But there were northerners at Washington, who did not know the metal of the man, and those men were doubtful as to the reception that would be given to the hostile message from Davis. Daniel Webster was of this number. He came into the hall of the House. 'Introduce me to Bissell of Illinois,' said he to a member whom he knew, 'I wish to look into his eye.'—Bissell was called. The two grasped hands heartily, and Webster withdrew with a more elastic tread and a deeper light gleaming from his eye than usual. 'He will do,' said he to a high dignitary of Government, who knew what had taken Webster into the House, 'the South has mistaken its man.'

Bissell left all preliminaries to his friends except weapons and distance—those he should determine upon himself. Muskets loaded with buckshot—thirty paces.' The Southern fireaters were amazed. They realized the soundness of Webster's judgment—they had indeed 'mistaken their man.' What could now be done? There was no retraction in Bissell. 'I have defended my brave Illinoisans,' said he against their calumniators. 'They stood nobly by me on the heights of Buena Vista, and I will stand by them here.' The chivalry saw there was nothing for it but 'musket and buckshot at thirty paces,' or back down. They wisely chose the latter.

The article was concluded with the plea: "People of Illinois, will you stand by the man who under all circumstances has stood by you, or will you support his competitor for office who now affiliates politically with those who sought the destruction of our gallant Bissell."[12]

Bissell was in due course elected Governor by the people of Illinois, becoming the first of a long line of Republican governors. The *Journal,* however, had cause to regret its part in perpetuating the legend. The Constitution of Illinois of 1848, then in effect, had a provision whereby any elective or appointive official of the state had to take an oath that he had not "fought a duel, nor sent or accepted a challenge to fight a duel."[13] In November, after the election, the *Journal* printed a query which had appeared in the *Joliet* (Illinois) *Signal* in which the latter paper asked whether Bissell would commit perjury by taking the oath that he had not been involved in the duel. At this point the *Journal* implied that no such challenge had been issued and asked rather angrily why, if such a challenge had been issued, it had not been published and

[12] *Daily Illinois State Journal,* July 29, 1856, 2.
[13] Article XIII, Section 26.

if such proof was available why Jefferson Davis had not been arrested for violation of the law against duelling and challenging to a duel in the District of Columbia.[14] Whatever his feelings may have been on the matter, Bissell took the oath and was duly inaugurated as governor of Illinois.

Later historians picked up the legend and perpetuated it in their writings. It became important to the Lincoln biographers because Lincoln is supposed to have suggested Bissell for the governorship in 1856. Ida M. Tarbell, in her biography of Lincoln, quotes an Illinois historian as saying that this demonstrated the "sagacity" of Lincoln because of the good record of Bissell and because the latter had "refused to be brow-beaten by Jefferson Davis into the retraction of statements he had made on the floor of Congress."[15] Nicolay and Hay likewise repeated the whole story and added a little of their own:

> At this point both parties might with great propriety have ended the correspondence. Sufficient inquiry had been met by generous explanation. But Davis, apparently determined to push Bissell to the wall, now sent his challenge. This time, however, he met his match in courage. Bissell named an officer of the army as his second, instructing him to suggest as weapons 'muskets, loaded with ball and buckshot.' The terms of the combat do not appear to have been formally proposed between the friends who met to arrange matters, but they were evidently understood; the affair was hushed up, with the simple addition to Bissell's first reply that he was willing to award the Mississippi regiment 'the credit due to their gallant and distinguished services in that battle.'[16]

The Illinois historians usually phrased their accounts to show that Bissell was not only right but also brave while Jefferson Davis was shown to be both cowardly and pig-headed. In 1907 one of these local historians described the affair in the following contemptuous manner:

> A little later an Illinois colonel, who had commanded an Illinois regiment at Buena Vista, and then a member of Congress sat in his seat and listened to a Virginia member say the day had been won at Buena Vista by a certain Mississippi regiment. The Illinois Colonel resented that, and proved by the record that the Mississippi regiment was not within a mile and a half of the place where the fight occurred. The commander of the Mississippi

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[14] *Daily Illinois State Journal*, November 24, 1856, 2.

[15] Ida M. Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 2 vols., New York, 1900, I, 291.

[16] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, 10 vols., New York, c. 1886, II, 26.

regiment challenged the Illinois member to fight a duel. He chose muskets, loaded to the muzzle, at forty paces, the participants to advance ten paces as long as there were two left. The Mississippian stated that was brutal. The Illinois colonel said fighting duels was brutal. Of course, a courageous Mississippian couldn't fight under those conditions so it was called off. The Mississippian was afterwards president of the southern confederacy and the Illinois colonel became Governor of Illinois.[17]

The versions which are kinder to Davis generally say that President Zachary Taylor, Davis's father-in-law, interfered to end the thing by pointing out that Bissell and Davis were alluding to a different time in the battle, much as Bissell's letter had admitted.[18] As far as can be determined Bissell said nothing of the incident although some of his friends may have had a hand in the building of the legend. Recently a letter was turned up in the Illinois State Historical Library which had been written by Davis to Dr. John Snyder, an Illinois physician who dabbled in local history. Apparently Snyder had been collecting information about Bissell and wrote to Davis concerning the incident. Shortly before his death, Davis wrote to Snyder as follows:

Bienvoir, Miss
5th Nov 1885

J. F. Snyder, M. D.

Dear Sir

Yours of the 16th of Sept has been received & I regret that I am unable to furnish you with the correspondence between Col. Bissell & myself on the occasion to which you refer. When, at the organization of the Confederate govt. I was called to Montgomery Ala my correspondence, the accumulation of many years, was left in Mississippi and was when my library there was pillaged during the war. It has been reported that the papers were sent to the Army Hdqrs at Chicago. if so the correspondence may be found there otherwise it may be among the papers left by the late Col. Bissell. In default of these means of supplying the information you desire, I will give you my recollection of the affair. The issue arose from the speech of the Hon James A. Seddon Ho. of Representatives January 23d 1850 and the reply of the Hon Wm. H. Bissell Feb 21, 1850. The latter speech was reported to me as containing a derogatory reflection upon the 1st Miss. Regt which I commanded in Buena Vista. I thereupon addressed a note of inquiry to Col. Bissell to which he replied in a manner I deemed unsatisfactory and I then sent him by Col Saml W. Inge of the

[17] J. O. Humphrey, "Dr. John Mason Peck and Shurtleff College," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (no. 12, 1907), 148n. See also "The Four Constitutional Conventions of the State of Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* XI (July, 1918), 225.

[18] A. J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, 4 vols., Boston, c1928, III, 116; Holman Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor*, New York, 1951, 299–300.

Ho. of Reps. an invitation to meet me outside the Dist of Columbia, and authorized my friend who handed him the invitation to arrange the necessary preliminaries for a hostile meeting. Col Bissell accepted the invitation but postponed any further arrangement until he had completed the revision of his Speech which was in the hands of the printer and genl James Shields of the Senate was designated as the friend to act for him. Some time elapsed and the proposed meeting became known wherefore warrants were issued & I had some difficulty in avoiding arrest. At length my friend was informed the meeting might occur the next day and that the second could have a conference in the evening to agree on the place, time, weapons &c. At that conference Genl. Shields the personal friend of both parties and a gallant man who was more willing to fight himself than to see his friend fight suggested that he thought the combat was wholly unnecessary, that Col Bissell had never meant to make any injurious reflection on my Regiment or on myself, to which my friend Col. Inge replied that the disavowal of such intention was all I had originally required & that if Col Bissell would write a note to that effect he thought it would be satisfactory. Quite late at night the note was brought to me and accepted thereby terminating the controversy.

Neither Col Bissell nor I desired to attract the notice of the public or to be recognized in the Character of Duellist, therefore the correspondence remained private, but as the existing warrants would have prevented attendance upon the two houses of which we were members it was necessary that notice should be given that the difficulty was at an end & the Second published a card formally announcing in the Stereotyped terms that the meeting had been amicably and honorably adjusted. Several years since a friend in Washington D. C. Sent to me the printed Slip containing the announcement but I have mislaid it & cannot even tell you in what paper it was published, but think it probable it was inserted in both the "Intelligencer" and the "Union" of that day.

Though in different parts of the field of Buena Vista Col Bissell and I had the bond of hard service and suffering in a common cause and I regret that others have not chosen to forget a subsequent disagreement or to bury it in the memory of the fraternal past as he and I did.

Very respectfully yours,
Jefferson Davis[19]

It seems likely that the account given by Davis is an accurate one. The dates and other details on which he can be checked are correct even though thirty-five years had elapsed since the events described. It seems probable that more correspondence was exchanged than was published and that a challenge was given. The version of Davis that the affair was smoothed over before the arrangements were made is a plausible one. If this assumption is

[19] Jefferson Davis to J. F. Snyder, M.D., Beauvoir, Miss., Nov. 5, 1885, in Illinois State Historical Library, Snyder Papers.

accepted, then the tales of muskets loaded with buckshot or ball at fifteen, or thirty, or forty paces must be pure fabrication. In any case it is obvious that no one backed down, and once analyzed, the speech of Bissell is inoffensive. The speech simply came at a time when men were on edge and quick to take offense. The story that the whole affair was a southern plot to destroy Bissell because of his slashing attack on the South can be dismissed as mere political maneuvering.

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Orestes A. Brownson and the Irish

There is perhaps more than one blurred or perverted historical truth that must be set right before full justice is done the memory of Orestes A. Brownson. And among these is the charge that he was anti-Irish, which seems to have persisted to the very end of his life, and is still a pale ghost that stalks abroad stealthily here and there.[1] The question gains in interest when one remembers that the Irish were no inconsiderable influence in the Catholic Church already in Brownson's day and had quite a number of journals in the field through which they insisted on being heard. What was his real relation to them? Was he, the peerless American apologist, at loggerheads with them while fighting great battles for the Church which both he and they loved so much? There is no doubt that occasionally he crossed swords with their editors, their politicians, their priests and prelates, in honest skirmishes.[2] That some of the Irish considered him unfriendly or hostile to them, is equally true, and this impression was also shared and expressed at times by others. Still, this writer holds that he was in no sense inimical to them at any time, whatever the superficial appearances to the contrary due at times to the great excitement attendant upon the public discussion of very delicate national questions. Generally speaking, it can be said that while Brownson had on occasions criticisms as well as encomiums for the Irish, he seems to have leaned

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[1] Even the three volume biography of Brownson by his son, Henry, though admirably objective on a large scale, does not convey an entirely correct impression regarding Brownson's general attitude to the Irish people, which was much more favorable than presented. Henry F. Brownson, *Brownson's Early, Middle, & Latter Life*, publisher, Detroit, Michigan, 1898, 1899, 1900. Brownson's biography by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., quotes only one-sidedly some of Brownson's animadversions on the Irish; *Orestes A. Brownson: A Pilgrim's Progress*, Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1939. Theodore Maynard's biography is little better in this respect; *Orestes Brownson, Yankee, Radical, Catholic*, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1943. Doran Whalen, *Granite for God's House*, Sheed & Ward, New York, 1943, skirts the question altogether.

[2] In his Valedictory in October, 1875, Brownson said, "That there has been more or less of antagonism between the *Review* and a portion of the Irish Catholic press published in this country, it were idle to attempt to deny;... but no antagonism of this sort has any thing to do with the discontinuance of the *Review*. The warmest and most esteemed friends of its editor, and its firmest and most generous supporters, have been among Catholics of Irish birth and Irish descent, as is the great body of our English-speaking Catholics." *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, Collected and Arranged by Henry F. Brownson, Detroit, Michigan, 1887, 20 Volumes, Vol. 20, 437, hereinafter referred to as *Works*.

more toward them as a people during the latter part of his life and was rather pro-Irish than anti-Irish.

The charge that he was anti-Irish originally grew out of Brownson's herculean efforts to head off and put down the anti-Catholic movement of the so-called Native American party of the early 50s, called in the second instance the Know-nothing party, one of the most virulently anti-Catholic parties that ever threatened to disturb the peace of the Church in the history of the country. The party was ostensibly against foreigners, but really at bottom decidedly against Catholic foreigners, and chiefly Irish Catholics, who during the previous decades had been the preponderant class of immigrants from abroad.[3] However, as Brownson pointed out, it was somewhat by accident that the Native American party became anti-Catholic, for there had been in the country from earliest times a Native American party in contradistinction to the foreigner, and the first paper started as a special organ of the party had been conducted by Catholics themselves, descended on the one side at least from an old American Catholic family.[4] Underlying the Native American party, therefore, was a certain native American feeling, a spirit or sentiment of nationality, proper to every people, shared in to some extent by all natives, and if the party had in time assumed a decidedly anti-Catholic character, it was due, Brownson maintained, to the craft and influence of no-popery leaders, political demagogues, wild radicals from the continent of Europe, and also to some extent to the imprudences of the foreign-born population of the country, naturalized or resident.

Brownson admitted that he himself had at first made the mistake of confounding the native American feeling of the party with the anti-Catholic feeling,[5] but in his elaborate discussions of the matter, he soon got his bearings, separated the two sentiments in the party—the native American from the anti-Catholic feeling—and adopted the plan of waging an all-out war against the anti-Catholic sentiment as distinctly anti-American in its nature, utterly opposed to

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[3] Coleman J. Barry, O.S.B., who made a close study of the immigrant Catholic racial groups of the last century, says: "Between 1830–1870 Irish immigrants had come in the largest numbers, up to 50 per cent above the German totals. But by 1865 the German had equalled the Irish influx and, from 1870–1890, the Germans led the field until Italian immigration began in earnest in the last decade of the century and thence continued as the dominant immigrant movement in the Church of the United States for many years." *The Catholic Church and German Americans,* Coleman J. Barry, O.S.B., The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1952.

[4] *Works,* Vol. 18, 286.

[5] *Ibid.,* 285.

the acknowledged principle of religious freedom as embodied in the American Constitution by the Founding Fathers. With this platform from which to launch the counter-attack, Brownson tried to bring home to his fellow Catholics in the country that any show of hostility on their part to the Native American party as such, without making the aforesaid distinction, would only throw around the whole body of Catholics in the country, native and foreign-born, the appearance of a foreign colony, carrying with it the unfortunate implication that their religion itself was foreign in nature, and therefore incompatible with American institutions. These very appearances their enemies were trying industriously and nefariously to create and maintain. To meet the real situation, then, Brownson counselled that, while waging war on the anti-Catholic sentiment of the party on the grounds of religious freedom, nothing could be wiser for Catholics than to show a becoming regard for the native American sentiment wrapt up in the movement, and to refrain scrupulously from any thing that might justly give offense to that sentiment. But with the bigotry and intolerance manifested toward foreigners, especially Irish Catholic foreigners, this was no easy matter to manage. The plan of attack, however, as laid down by Brownson was expertly sagacious and was the real level upon which the battle was eventually fought out and won, though Brownson himself was to encounter much misunderstanding and bitterness in trying to carry it through.

Pursuant to this strategy, therefore, Brownson proceeded to make it plain in the first part of an article he wrote on Native Americanism in 1854 that he stood ready to defend the sentiment of nationality in the party, and gave over the latter part of the article to a vigorous attack on the bigotry and intolerance of the party as anti-American.[6] However, in speaking in the tones of a natural-born American citizen he said a number of things that must have grated terribly upon the sensibilities of the foreign-born population of the country. He reminded them in strong terms that there was in the country such a thing as an American nationality, mainly of English origin and descent, and that it was to this self-same Anglo-American type of nationality that all foreigners were called upon to conform. He addressed himself to Irish Catholic foreigners in particular, and called in question, to say the least, their unyielding attachment to their national habits, customs and traditions. For them to attempt

[6] *Ibid.*, 281. Brownson had also previously published an article on Native Americanism in the January issue of his *Review*, 1845.

to keep up their own foreign nationalism on American soil would be both unwise and unavailing, he asserted, for it was to be counted a certainty that the distinctive American nationality that would claim the future would be determined by the Anglo-American population, and that this same Anglo-American population had the right to say to all foreigners: "It is for you to conform to us, and not for us to conform to you. We did not ask you to come here; we do not force you to remain. If you do not like us as we are, you may return whence you came."[7]

His general thought on this aspect of the question probably had the ring of asserting the superiority of the Anglo-American nationality or type of civilization over others. Worst of all, he attributed the growing radicalism of the country, flaming ominously here and there, to the great influx of foreigners into the land. The basic Anglo-American population of the country, he went on to say, had always been marked by a certain integrity and sobriety of conduct, while among the foreigners pouring into the country for so long, there had been many an anarchist or revolutionary demagogue who, having done his nefarious work abroad, had fled hither to bedevil the American scene with European politics, making "the merits of candidates depend on their views of O'Connell, Kossuth, Smith O'Brien, Kinkel, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Napoleon or Francis Joseph, Nicholas of Russia or the Sultan of Turkey." Did not these revolutionary demagogues so rig the last national elections that practically the whole country was at the mercy of those who controlled "the foreign vote?"[8]

Catholic foreigners reading the article thus far probably felt disgust and indignation. If they read to the end they would have seen that although Brownson had already said something against the Catholic Irish as aiders and abetters in a minor degree of the growing radicalism of the country, he was actually leading up gradually to a major indictment not of the Catholic, but of the non-Catholic immigrants. He named as the real fomenters of the Bedini riots in the principal cities of the land "German infidels and Italian patriots." Among the Irish it was mainly Protestant Irishmen from the North of Ireland that he indicted, who having caught their unholy inspiration from French Jacobinism, and being unable to fasten it on their own country, had fled hither in the early

[7] *Works*, Vol. 18, 284.
[8] *Ibid.*, 293.

days "to blast with its sirocco breath the rich promise of our young republic."[9] The real Catholic portion of the foreign population in the country he pronounced to be the most conservative body in the land, and declared that it was upon them that the country must rely for neutralizing the rising radicalism of the day. The only fault he found with Irish-Catholic foreigners on the score of radicalism was that they suffered themselves to be too easily influenced and guided, not by the sound principles of their religion, but by their demagogic or revolutionary countrymen. It was precisely non-Catholic or merely nominal Catholic foreigners, he said, who were the pets of revolutionary demagogues, and who were such a threat to the peace and order of the country. And while reasserting his stand on the side of the sentiment of American nationality, he utterly repudiated the Native American party, so called,

> for its real leaders are foreigners, mostly apostate or renegade Catholics of the Padre Gavassi stamp. These vile European vagabonds have seized upon the honest Native American and republican sentiment of the country, and have sought to pervert it to a mere anti-popery sentiment. These men, the veritable chieftains of the present native American party, care not a straw for American interests, for genuine American sentiments, any further than they can use them for their own base and malignant purposes. It is really a foreign party, and therefore, as Americans as well as Catholics, we disavow it.[10]

In considering ways and means of defeating the Native American party, Brownson again gave offense—no doubt particularly to the Irish—in throwing out the suggestion whether it might not be wiser for Catholic immigrants to be willing to have the naturalization laws repealed and to forego the opportunity of citizenship if thereby they could debar from the rights of citizenship that radical class of immigrants who had come hither imbued with the infidel and anarchical principles of the mad European revolutionists, carrying on in the country their machinations against legitimate authority and social order in a language which very few of the citizens of the country understood. By willingly co-operating with the effort to deny the power of the ballot to this corrupt mass of non-Catholic foreigners who were doing their best to ruin the country, Brownson thought Catholic immigrants might be rendering an invaluable service to the land of their adoption.[11] It was only

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9 *Ibid.*, 291.
10 *Ibid.*, 294.
11 *Ibid.*, 298.

a suggestion that he threw out, and he emphasized later that he had not advocated it.

When the article in which Brownson had expressed these views was published in the July issue of his *Review,* 1854, it created a tremendous uproar.[12] Irish and Catholic editors in the land rushed to reply to what they considered a broadside from a Yankee convert. First in the assault came J. F. MacMaster, the editor of the *Freeman Journal,* who traced his ancestry to North Ireland, and who evidently took offense at what he considered Brownson's aspersions on the radicals from North Ireland. His article was copied and published in the *Catholic Mirror* of Baltimore by its editor together with an abusive article by a correspondent who accused Brownson of venting his spleen on the Irish. This drew from Brownson a long letter of protest to the editor in which he deplored the impolicy of the *Mirror* in having denounced an American Catholic publicist for having expressed himself as a loyal American citizen—for that, said Brownson, is the way in which the whole non-Catholic public will look at the matter. An impudent fellow, he said, when I first became a Catholic, called me a traitor to my country, and I knocked him down for the insult. The standing charge against our religion is that it is anti-American, and what have you done, he asked, but confirmed that charge in the minds of the enemies of the Church? You have given them occasion to say: "It is as we said. Dr. Brownson has had the audacity to speak as an American citizen, and here are the Catholics out upon him in full cry." And he went on to intimate that he had had a motive in writing the article, and in saying what he did, that he had thought would be patent to every Catholic in the land, and thinking that he enjoyed the confidence of the Catholic public, he had cherished hopes of succeeding in what he had undertaken. But in this, he regretted to say, he had overrated the sagacity of his fellow-Catholics, and must in consequence pay for his mistake.

To the charge that he had vented his spleen on the Irish, that he was anti-Irish, he returned a flat denial. He had not flattered the Irish, it is true, but had addressed them as Catholics, and did not intend to be driven from that course in the future. "I have seen the warm susceptibilities of the Irish heart played upon by foreign and native demagogues," he said, "till my blood boiled with indignation; and I shall never for the sake of any base or selfish purposes,

[12] Schlesinger, *Orestes A. Brownson,* 215, says that "in July and August 9 Catholic Journals censured Brownson."

imitate those demagogues. Have I ever received any thing but benefits from the great body of the Irish in this country or elsewhere? Is it supposed that I am incapable of gratitude?"[13] Why, then, he was curious to know, should he be anti-Irish? Three years later when touching upon this matter he stated the case in a few lines that clearly imply the utter recklessness of the charges that had been preferred against him. "We had and have no interests and affections but such as are bound up with the Catholic body of which we are an insignificant member, and as the portion of that body from which we have the most to hope for Catholicity are Irish or of Irish descent, it is ridiculous to suppose that we were anti-Irish in our feelings, or were disposed to join the Know-nothings in a war against Irish Catholics, which could be only a war equally against ourselves."[14] When Brownson wrote this, the battle had been fought and won, the hurly-burly mostly over, but the last echoes had by no means yet died away.

To continue and finish the work he had begun with the publication of his article in July, 1854, Brownson also replied to the storm of criticism that arose from Catholics in three massive articles he subsequently wrote on Know-nothingism, the new name the old party now assumed.[15] In these three articles he defended his right against Americans, particularly against the Know-nothings, to be a Catholic, and his right against all gainsayers to speak as a loyal American citizen. Long years were to pass away before he was to admit with the manly candor which always marked him that he had after all made some mistakes in his gallant war on the bitterly anti-Catholic movement of that day. He had perhaps over-played his Americanism a bit, and he had called upon the Irish to Americanize. It is precisely these two things that had no doubt given such offense to the Irish.

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[13] Brownson's *Middle Life*, 553 et seq.

[14] *Works*, Vol. 14, 574. It is interesting to note that Brownson's wife was of Irish descent, at least partly. June 19, 1827, he married Sally Healy, who had been one of his pupils when he taught school at Elbridge in Onondaga Co., New York. She was a cousin of the erst-while well-known John Healy, law partner of Daniel Webster, and one of the very best lawyers in Boston. Sally Healy was not a Catholic when Brownson married her, but was an earnest Christian in the best Protestant sense, and one of the greatest sorrows of her life was the unchristian character the writings of her husband assumed for a brief period in his early career. Brownson asserted that she had somewhat preceded him in her movement toward the Catholic Church. Cf. Brownson, *Early Life*, 480, also *Middle Life*, 468.

[15] *Works*, Vol. 18, 300–380.

In playing up his Americanism Brownson felt he had the noblest of motives. He saw clearly that the Know-nothings based all their hopes of success on claiming for themselves alone the real spirit of American nationality, and in charging Catholics with hostility to that sentiment. Nothing could be more important, then, than to bring out in the most crystal clear light that there was no incompatibility whatsoever between Catholicity and the honest sentiment of American nationality, that whatever of foreignism attached to Catholics in the country attached to them in their quality of foreigners, and not in their quality as Catholics, and was in no sense a part of their religion. He stressed that the Catholic religion is over and above all nationalities, and able to co-exist, without collision, with any. Brownson felt called upon to emphasize this inasmuch as large classes of his countrymen looked upon the Church as the *Irish* religion, and would regard becoming a Catholic in about the same light as becoming an Irishman. This was unfortunate since many of the Anglo-Americans were about as much prejudiced against the Irish as they were against the Church.[16] To meet this dual objection to the Church, Brownson, as an American convert to the Church, played up his Americanism to the hilt. The Irish sensed the over-play in the case, and took offense. Yet it all had a very important part in the general strategy Brownson had adopted. Years later, however, when he revived his defunct *Review* in 1873 he had come to take a slightly different view of matters. "Time was," he said, "when I paraded my Americanism, in order to repel the charge, that an American cannot be a convert to the Church without ceasing to feel and act as an American patriot, but I have lived long enough to snap my fingers at all charges of that sort. . . . Though my interest in my country and my countrymen is as great as ever, I do not consider it a high compliment to be credited with an intense Americanism.[17]

Brownson's preachments to the Irish that they must forget their

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16 *Ibid.*, 321.

17 *Works*, Vol. 20, 383. Yet there is no question that he always remained strongly American. Writing on Brownson in the June issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1896, George Parsons Lathrop, former editor, quoted an old friend of Brownson as saying that he "was as intense an American as Washington, Jackson, or Lincoln,"—an assertion that will strike any one as banal who has read his writings or studied his career. (p. 780). And it may be added that he was at the same time one of the acutest critics of things American that ever lived—all in the patriotic interest of improving his country and countrymen. "His observation on society," remarked Schlesinger, "has a profundity no other American of the time approached." *A Pilgrim's Progress*, 294.

distinctive Irish manners, customs, habits and usages and Americanize had an even greater irritating effect than playing up his Americanism. To some of the Irish, and especially to those who did not bother about following his thought closely, this must have seemed very much like calling upon the Irish to protestanize or apostatize. For to them the Catholic religion was part and parcel of their nationality, for which their fathers had lived and died, the one being almost indistinguishable from the other. Could they, then, really denationalize themselves without at the same time casting off Catholicity? Moreover when Brownson emphasized to them that the distinctive American nationality was substantially English, having derived its language, literature, laws, customs, social and political institutions from England, he was emphasizing that which must have been truly unpalatable in the case.[18] Was it, then, to this self-same Anglo-American nationality that they must now conform? Was it for this that as a nation they had endured long centuries of persecution and spoliation for "the faith once delivered to the saints" at the hand of this same Anglo-Saxon people who now boasted this self-same civilization? It is not surprising that the Irish insisted on having their say in the face of these offensive preachments from a Yankee convert, and they had little patience to make any nice distinctions. They ridiculed and sneered at the whole anti-Catholic movement of the day, calling it "nativyism," and labelling it correctly "undemocratic and anti-republican." Passions flared on all sides. Yet Brownson seems at the time never to have wavered in his firm conviction that it was altogether the part of wisdom for the Irish to Americanize and submerge their distinctive nationality in the great swelling stream of American nationality.[19]

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[18] *Works*, Vol. 18, 316.

[19] It must be said, however, that Brownson from the first took large and broad views of this whole question. He saw clearly that since the Irish identified Catholicity so closely with their nationality, there existed for them a real difficulty to conceive it possible to denationalize themselves without at the same time casting off Catholicity. While castigating his own countrymen for having departed from the integrity and sobriety of their fathers, he called upon them to recognize that it was unreasonable for them to expect foreigners to be transformed at once into Americans; that nationality is a stubborn thing, and is not to be worn out in a day, or even in a single generation; that the nationality, the usages, manners, and customs, which are sometimes the immigrant's offense, are in themselves just as respectable as their own, and that much must be pardoned a poor people who for ages had been oppressed by tyrannical and incapable governments. "We may well complain of naturalized citizens," he said, "if they set at work deliberately to form such a party, or labor to keep alive their foreignism, or try to prevent the foreign from

However, by the time two decades had rolled away, Brownson had done a complete volté-facé on this whole question. When in 1873 he wrote for the October issue of his *Review* his remarkable commentary on *Father Thébaud's Irish Race, Past and Present,* he frankly acknowledged that he had made a mistake in the past in calling upon the Irish to Americanize. What they must do now, he said, is to guard against Americanizing, for the moment they exchange their original Irish characteristics for those of the country, they lose the principal part of their power for good. What the Irish have done for religion in this country, Father Thébaud's book tells better than we can, he said, but their influence on American civilization, in preparing it for the reception of the Catholic faith, and the country for a true Catholic civilizaton, cannot yet be told, but it has been very great, especially in the New England states, where it has already almost abolished Puritanism. If it has not brought the descendants of the Puritans up to the Catholic standard, it has to a great extent brought them back to nature, the first step to be taken, since Puritanism is unnatural, against nature, not supernatural.

Were the Irish to adopt, however, the faith excepted, American modes of thought, manners, and customs, and become absorbed in the Anglo-American community, they would lose all their influence in softening the hardness, and in relaxing the rigidity of puritan manners, so hostile to real virtue, and the power of infusing into our life a freer, a more hospitable, genial, and cheerful tone and spirit. It would be doubtful, he thought, whether if completely Americanized and severed from their traditional relations, the Irish would retain even their faith beyond the second generation. So long therefore as the Irish retain their Irish characteristics and their invincible attachment to their religion and traditional civilization, they would be supplying the very elements the population of the country most needs.[20]

If there was any thing wanting in the peace-offering Brownson was now making the Irish, it was completed handsomely in the flattering comments he made in this same article on the Irish type

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coalescing with the native population; but we must not blame them for what grows naturally out of their position, and what in itself is only creditable to their hearts." Cf. *Works,* Vol. 18, 298, 352.

[20] *Works,* Vol. 13, 562. In the October issue of his *Review,* 1874, 569, Brownson said point-blank: "Our Irish brethern were right in holding that to Americanize is to protestantize, and we were wrong in holding the contrary, at least at present."

of civilization. He looked upon the Irish as having been detached from the original parent stock before the patriarchal religion had to any extent become corrupt, or while they still retained the religion and the traditions of Noah in great force and comparative purity, and as having been directed by Providence to the Western Isle which they still inhabit, where, separated in some sort from the rest of the world, they preserved in comparative purity and vigor the primitive religion, and primitive civilization, institutions, manners, and customs, as transmitted to the human race from Noah and his sons. He remarked that he had heretofore regarded the Graeco-Roman type of civilization, as developed in our American Constitution, as the highest type of civilization the world has known since the great gentile apostasy, and had supposed that it only needed the Catholic faith and worship to be as perfect as any civilized order can be; but that Father Thébaud's book had given him a clew to Irish history which he had previously lacked, and had enabled him to perceive a higher as well as an older type, which he called the Irish type, and which is not only higher and older, but stronger and more persistent, through what he called the designs of providence in regard to the Irish people. And it is stronger and more persistent, he said, precisely because it preserves the primitive traditions of mankind, re-enforced by the Catholic faith, while all other civilizations have originated since the lapse of the nations into barbarism and idolatry, and are repugnant to, or at best a departure from, the normal order of society, or to the Christian order of society. The Irish order is based on truer, deeper, and more universal principles than the Anglo-Norman, the modern English, or the ancient Roman order.[21]

He regarded, therefore, the long hostility of the English and Irish not simply as a conflict of races, but rather of two orders of civilization or social organization. This explained to him why the antagonism of the Irish and the Anglo-Norman was practically just as great when both still professed the same religion as it has been since the English nation apostatized. To the Anglo-Normans, the Irish, representing the oldest civilization in the world, the Noachic type, were never civilized at all, but barbarians, savages of little more worth than wild beasts, whom the interests of civilization required to be exterminated; while to the Irish mind, the Anglo-Normans, civilized after the pattern of Nimrod, were robbers, ruf-

21 *Works,* Vol. 13, 556.

fians, unmitigated savages, cruel, heartless, without any sense of justice or humanity, worthy descendants of the pirates of the North, veneered by a thin covering—derived through France—of Graeco-Roman or Italo-Greek civilization, itself of barbaric origin. The two civilizations were opposed one to the other almost as fire and water, and could by no possibility co-exist on the same territory in peace and harmony. The Normans first endeavored to bring the Irish under their type of civilization, but failing in that, they directed all their efforts for four hundred years to the degradation and extinction of the Irish race, but with what success history tells us when it states that the great Anglo-Norman lords settled in Ireland, adopted the manners and customs of the Irish, intermarried with them, and became more Irish than the Irish themselves.[22]

Now all this flattering commentary on the Irish and their type of civilization was made well-nigh twenty years after Brownson had published his article in 1854 in which he had given such dire offense to the Irish. So mighty indeed had been its reverberations that they echoed across the Atlantic with telling effect. J. H. Newman was just organizing at the time the teaching staff of the new Catholic University of Ireland which he had been chosen to head, and the first invitation he issued to be a member of the staff was to Brownson. The subject he suggested to Brownson was geography, to which Brownson demurred as it did not exactly suit him.[23] Shortly thereafter, Sir John Action was sojourning in England and heard from Newman's friends of the invitation exetnded to Brownson and of Brownson's refusal or hesitation. On crossing again to Munich, however, Acton learned from Brownson's son, Henry, who

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[22] *Ibid.*, 584. Yet some Irish journalists were not satisfied with Brownson's encomiums. In reply Brownson said: "No man has more ably defended the Irish than we did in our review of *Father Thébaud's Irish Race, Past and Present,* for which more than one Irish journalist roundly abused us. Our warmest and most intimate friends are, and always have been with the Irish, but we sometimes feel it necessary to rebuke some Irish journalists who are perpetually obtruding their nationality upon us, and, in doing so, we do not remind them that it is they, not we, who are making national distinctions." Cf. Vol. 13, 584.

[23] Referring for evidence to a letter written by Newman to Wiseman, February 1st, 1854, Fergal McGrath asserts that the first invitation to by Lecturer Extraordinary was extended to Döllinger, then at the height of his fame as Prof. of Canon Law and Church History in the University of Munich, and member of the Frankfort Parliament. But McGrath admits that there is no record of Döllinger's grounds of refusal. Newman, to the contrary, asserts in his letter to Brownson: "You are the first person to whom I have applied." Cf. Fergal McGrath, S.J., *Newman's University, Idea and Reality,* Longman, Green and Company, 1950, 215. Also Brownson's *Middle Life,* 471.

was studying there, that Brownson would not refuse the invitation if the subject given him were more to his taste. Dating his letter, Munich, May 13, 1854, Acton wrote what is perhaps the most remarkable letter Brownson ever received, urging him in the most flattering and eloquent tones to come to Europe and accept the chair in the Catholic University of Ireland, remarking in the course of his letter: "your intercourse here will be as an infusion of new blood in many societies, in Dublin, in London, in Paris, and in other places."[24] In the interim, Brownson had accepted the invitation to be a Lecturer Extraordinary when Newman in a second letter suggested as his subject the philosophy of religion, and in preparation for going abroad, Brownson issued a recall to his son at Munich whom he wished to assist him in keeping his *Review* going while he was abroad, for the sentiment had been publicly expressed that the suspension of his *Review* would be nothing less than "a literary calamity" should he go abroad.

Then the thunderclap broke. Newman in great embarrassment wrote Brownson asking him to postpone for the time being his intended visit. This request he was just now forced to make, he explained, by representations "from quarters to which I cannot but listen, on the ground of some offense which happens to have been *just now taken,* in America, and, I believe, in Ireland, at something which you have lately written." Newman's letter was dated August 23, 1854, and Brownson's article on Native Americanism had appeared just the month before, in the July issue of his *Review.* The urbane Newman was all apologies and closed expressing his regrets that Brownson had already summoned his son from Europe apropos of his going abroad. The great howl of the Irish over that July article had rolled across the Atlantic and had to all effects cancelled Brownson's invitation.[25]

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[24] *Middle Life,* 474.

[25] *Ibid.,* 481. An unknown correspondent (the name has become illegible), but evidently a person of authority, writing from Baltimore, August 4, 1854, to Dr. Taylor of the Catholic University of Ireland, said that Brownson's July Article on Native Americanism had "evoked a perfect tempest of odium and indignation against him." *Newman's University, Idea and Reality,* 218, n. Fergal McGrath is hardly fair to Brownson when he says that, "Though an able and sincere man, he had picked quarrels with almost every one in America." (p. 216). Brownson had a work to do, and in going about it, it was inevitable but that he was to tread on the corns of some worthies. By the time he was trying to put down the hostility to Catholics of Know-nothingism, he had just suspended his great battle for a recognition of the papal powers as the only possible answer to modern political atheism—a battle that had stirred up a furious storm among Catholics, or rather from Catholics. Yet twenty years later

In replying to Newman, Brownson said that the postponement itself of the proposed visit was only what he himself wanted and should have been necessitated to request as he needed at least a year to make arrangements for going abroad and to prepare his son to take charge of his *Review* during his absence. He expressed his entire readiness to make the visit later "should the present storm blow over." His own conviction, however, was that the interests of all parties concerned would be best consulted, especially those of Newman himself and the university, if it were plainly understood that he was not to be connected with the university in any manner. The *Irish* party, both here and abroad, he said, will never accept me. His presence there would only be looked upon as more evidence that an attempt was being made to Anglo-Saxonize the Irish. "The storm that recently broke out here, is only the expression of long pent-up feelings." He wished, therefore, if the thing could be honestly done, to make a final declension in the matter. Yet Newman, with his noble dreams of a great university, was quite unwilling to allow Brownson to decline with finality, and still clung to the hope that the storm would blow over, and, in such an eventuality, he would be very sorry to have already committed himself in the matter. The professorship offered you, he assured Brownson, will be kept open for you, at least until we see what turn events will take.[26] But the shores of Ireland Brownson was destined never to see, nor any other foreign shores.

Again, when Brownson published an article in the October issue of his *Review,* 1861, on *The Reading and Study of the Scriptures,* he made a comment on the influence of the Celtic genius on the English language which scarcely could have been palatable to the Irish.[27] Entering into the question then agitated about a new and better translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular, he expressed the opinion that no new translation could ever equal the rare literary merits of the Protestant King James version. Not even could this be achieved by enlisting the great stylistic talents of John Henry Newman, although something might be accomplished on that score by taking the King James version "as a basis [for English], correcting it according to the readings of the Vulgate, and avoiding

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came the solemn definitions of the Vatican Council as eloquent evidence of how right Brownson had been in calling for a recognition and practical acceptance of those powers.

[26] *Middle Life,* 479 et seq.

[27] *Works,* Vol. 20, 171.

its mistranslations and its few grammatical and literary errors."[28] The literary superiority inherent in the King James version is due, he said, to the fact that that translation was made in the sixteenth century when the English language had reached its zenith, and was marked by a majestic simplicity, a naturalness, an ease, grace, and vigor which it has been gradually losing since, and which, if not wholly lost, is owing to the influence of that translation together with the Book of Common Prayer. Every day has the language been departing more and more from the grandeur, strength, and simplicity that distinguished it in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a proof in itself that the reading of the Scriptures, at least in the King James version, has grown less and less common, or that the authors who have gained the mastery in the modern literary world, have not modelled their literary tastes after its study. Say what we will, continued Brownson, "since the time of Burke, the Celtic genius, aided by French influence, has been triumphing over the old Anglo-Saxon, and pompousness of diction and diffuseness of style, have taken the place of terseness and simplicity."[29] For this aspersion on the Celtic genius he was to be rapped severly over the knuckles in the *Dubline Review* three years later by an anonymous writer, supposedly William George Ward, the editor at the time, who remarked that Brownson's antipathy to the Irish race is well known, and breaks out here and there in his *Review*.[30]

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[28] Newman actually did undertake a new translation into the vernacular. In August, 1857, Cardinal Wiseman formally notified him of the recommendation made at the Synod of Oscott in 1855 that he undertake the work, and he set about it at once. He was hugely flattered by the honor thus conferred upon him. But after his list of translators had already begun work, and he himself had made quite an outlay of money ("considerable to me"), complications set in. Word came that Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore was also engaged on a new English version, and had already published part of it. The suggestion of a current Synod of Baltimore that the two, Archbishop Kenrick and Newman, combine their efforts for one common version instead of two, came to naught, and Newman saw another of his undertakings sink into the black waters of defeat. He tried to console himself partly with the idea that his version would anyhow have been made "a great hash of" by the Propaganda, the Committee of Revision, and ordinary revision, etc. Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, Vol. I, 418–428.

[29] *Works*, Vol. 20, 183.

[30] *Theological Errors of the Day—Brownson's Review, Dublin Review, LIV*, January, 1864, 93. The anonymous author of the article appended a very interesting footnote on this matter when he wrote: "Dr. Brownson, on more than one occasion, charges Irish writers (Edmund Burke especially) with having corrupted the old Saxon vigor and simplicity of the English language. We believe that he could name no eminent Irish writer whose style has less of the Saxon or Anglo-Saxon in it than that of Milton, and the contemporary of Milton, Dr. Johnson: and that he could name no English writer in which it is more conspicuous than Swift and

In 1860 some of the Irish may have felt that an old score was squared with Brownson when Father John Boyce, a priest from Maynooth seminary, Ireland, and at that time pastor of the only Catholic Church in Worcester, published a novel under the title of *Mary Lee,* or *The Yankee in Ireland*.[31] In the work as originally published in the *Metropolitan* magazine, Brownson was satarized in the person of Dr. Horseman, one of the main characters in the novel. He was castigated for his indiscreet zeal as a convert, especially for his interpretation of the doctrine that there is no salvation out of the Church, and the author, as Brownson saw it, "warned his countrymen [the Irish] against one whom he regards as their enemy." It is true that the author did not mention Brownson by name, but there could be no doubt in the public mind who was meant, for besides certain humorous resemblances between Brownson and Dr. Horseman, Dr. Horseman was given as the portrait of a Yankee Catholic Reviewer, and, as Brownson pointed out, there was only one such in the world—himself. Michael Earls, S.J., explained in the *Commonweal* that it was really Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston who prevailed upon Father Boyce to tone down the severities attaching to the Dr. Horseman character, and when the novel came out in book form, Dr. Horseman had been changed into the banal Dr. Henshaw.[32] While acknowledging the implied apology, Brownson did not like this, saying that the change had marred the artistic merit of the book. He assured Father Boyce that he had never been offended by the personalities indulged in in his regard, and that he himself loved a joke as much as any of his Irish friends. "So here is our hand, Father John," he said, "only give us back our friend Dr. Horseman, and remember for the future that Jonathan can bear with good humor a joke, even at his own expense, if it lack not the seasoning of genuine wit."

Although Brownson always aimed at being just to the Irish people, and at times perhaps even more than just, a letter he wrote to Father Hecker in 1869 would seem to mark a turning point in his general attitude and estimation of the Irish. In that letter he remarked: "I think I am turning Paddy. . . . I am very Irish, when I

Goldsmith. Among the writers who have taken their place as classics in our literature decidedly the most un-English are the Scotch Hume, Robertson, Sir James Macintosh, etc., the latter especially in his history of England."

[31] *Works,* Vol. 20, 83, 90. Fr. J. Boyce and Brownson had always been fairly good friends, and often met at Holy Cross College, Worchester, where Brownson's four sons went to college, or at Brownson's home.

[32] May 11, 1934,

do not listen to their defenses for themselves. They are remarkable people, the mainstay under God of the Church with us."[33] This was written five years before his review of *Father Thébaud's Irish Race, Past and Present,* certainly one of the most laudatory and profound treatises on the Irish way of life or civilization ever written.

When one recalls some of the things that Brownson said in his 1854 article on Native Americanism, and the anti-Irish impression he must have made thereby at the time, it is not wholly surprising that some set him down as unfriendly, to say the least, to the Irish—that is, if the article was to be taken alone. Apart from matters already touched upon in this general survey, this writer thinks that one of his pen-pictures of the Irish in the 1854 article was definitely unjust and truly offensive—but no doubt unintentionally.[34] And that the impression stuck that he was unfriendly to the Irish, especially with those who read his Review only irregularly, is just as little surprising. When time allowed passions to cool and temporary excitement to abate, the over-all picture reveals to us in Brownson a man loftily above all national prejudices or unfriendly distinctions. He was no more anti-Irish than he was anti-Jesuit—a charge that was also made against him—though he had on occasions crticisms as well as eulogies for both. The whole question of Brownson's relation to the Irish is so justly and so well stated by a reviewer of *Brownson's Middle Life* in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1900 that it is worthy of quotation here as a summation of the matter.

> Perhaps the most interesting feature of the book to Irish readers, though certainly not the most pleasant, will be the tone of lofty patronage with which the author of the work (Henry Brownson) is pleased to speak of Irish Catholics in America. This tone is also noticeable in the letters of many of Brownson's friends, who speak of themselves as native Americans, and of the Irish as foreigners or immigrants. The letters of Father Hecker quoted in this volume are by no means exempt from this same blemish. Brownson, the elder, was far superior to any of these men. He had, like Cardinal Manning, a genuine love for the Irish people, and whilst he sometimes reminded them of their defects, he never minimized their good qualities, or spared the self-sufficiency of their critics.[35]

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[33] Paulist Archives.
[34] *Works,* Vol. 18, 299.
[35] *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* Vol. VII, 1900, 476.

Use of the Local Press in Historical Research

Although historians have traditionally adopted a cautious view regarding the significance of the newspaper in historical research, many still favor its use. Parker, for example, is particularly concerned about public opinion and implies that the newspaper is an excellent source of information for local history.[1] Implicit in other writings are the following: (1) newspapers reveal the interests and ideas present in a given period of time, (2) newspapers are indicators and interpreters of the life and spirit of the time or locality, (3) newspapers serve as an index of changing social conditions as revealed in the announcements of engagements, marriages, birth, and death,[2] (4) newspapers may be used to reconstruct the history of the small community because it is simple and uncomplicated.[3]

This paper is designed to examine the validity of the above mentioned statements in light of our empirical experience with a weekly newspaper used in the construction of a community history.

The study in question is an analysis of a one-industry coal mining community which is typical of an area with respect to economic base, the ethnic origins of settlements, and emergent social structure. It is a study in the rise of social organization and subsequent developments of such organization including the following:

a. The institutional patterns of economics, law, government, religion, family, education, and recreation.

b. The manifest value orientations and structures implicit in the institutional framework listed above.

c. The resultant personality configurations.

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1 Donald D. Parker, *Local History, How to Gather It, Write, and Publish It*, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1944, Chapter III.

2 Lucy M. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1923, 36. Still considered an authoritative work in this area.

3 *Ibid.*, 491.

The community, which for purposes of this paper shall be named Coal Town, is situated in the heart of the mid-western bituminous coal fields.[4] It is in the southern part of the state, and in the southeastern section of the county.

Selection of Community

The community was selected for study and analysis because it it possessed the following requirements:

1. It is a community that has gone through a period of rapid expansion, prosperity, and decline and has, during its history, experienced social and economic changes typical of coal mining communities in the region.
2. The community of Coal Town is of recent origin (incorporation date 1914). Thus its social history and subsequent analysis could be constructed with a high degree of accuracy. Further source materials in the form of newspaper documents, census figures, births, deaths, marriages, and divorces were readily available for examination.
3. The total population is sufficiently small (population 2300) so that the community could be studied intensively. Further, members of many of the families who lived through the rise and decline of the community were living and available for interview.

The nature and purpose of the present study involved methodological and field techniques derived from the disciplines of history, sociology, social psychology, psychology and anthropology. In addition to any specific set of techniques employed, our data were examined in light of the frames of reference characteristic of each of the above social sciences. For example, as we proceeded in our research, we kept asking ourselves how persons in each of the above social sciences would approach, analyze, interpret and assess our data. We soon discovered that such an approach, at times bewildering and confusing, presented us with an integrated, holistic view of social life in Coal Town. By the same token each method and frame of reference isolated from the other would have given us at best a compartmentalized understanding of what happened to the people of Coal Town and their way of life.[5]

[4] Identity of the community and its newspaper has been disguised because of unfavorable publicity which might emerge from disclosure of information derived in interviews.

[5] Julian H. Steward, *Area Research: Theory and Practice*, Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 63, 1950.

Newspaper Analysis

Community analysis which involves a time sequence must rely on whatever historical accounts are available for examination. The writers in this instance were particularly fortunate in securing from the surviving editor a copy of almost every *Coal Town Weekly* from 1919 to the end of publication in 1953. *Coal Town Weekly* was, with the exception of one three-year period, the only newspaper published in the community. Two other newspapers started, but failed within a two-year period. Newspapers were systematically analyzed and abstracted by initially inspecting the contents, then a schedule was set up to abstract the contents. We recorded our findings on IBM cards and these were analyzed and evaluated.[6] Items abstracted included the following: violent deaths, fighting and disorderly conduct, prostitution, theft and robbery, rape, corruption, fraud, marriage announcements, divorces, news coverage and type of news coverage outside Coal Town, hospitalization for mental illness, suicide, church news, reform movements, expressions of community faith, economic conditions, management-labor disputes, union conflicts, advertisements, announcements of social activities, number of articles concerned with ethnic people, outside entertainment, evidences of community development.

Commentary on Coal Town Weekly as a Source of Data.

Coal Town Weekly was sensitive to selected segments of life in the community. It described:

1. Social events, celebrations
2. Criminal activity, fraud, corruption
3. Bootlegging
4. Current fads in clothing, buying, selling
5. Church activities and services
6. Social clubs
7. Economic difficulties
8. Union activities
9. Politics
10. Marriages, divorces, births, deaths

Nevertheless, *Coal Town Weekly* was completely unreliable as a record of the extent of any of the above activities. Thus it afforded us a limited, superficial view of life in the community. As we

[6] Copy of schedule utilized may be obtained by writing the authors.

proceeded in our analysis we became increasingly convinced that the newspaper was never able to penetrate the basic fabric of community life, the feelings and the struggles of the people. It operated always at the periphery of social life and possessed no systematic procedure for the gathering of news items. Whether this is usually the case with a small town weekly or whether this was unique to Coal Town we cannot say with certainty. Nevertheless it raised many questions for us with respect to the usefulness of the newspaper as a research tool. The validity of newspaper reporting was determined by a comparison of these findings with the findings of *official records* and *intensive personal interviews*. The writers interviewed 250 residents and spent a total of 2,000 hours collecting such data, from which the following table has been drawn.

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EVENTS REPORTED IN NEWSPAPER AND EVENTS RECORDED IN PUBLIC FILES 1919–1953

	Events reported in newspaper 1919-1953	Events reported from official records 1919-1953	Percentage Difference
1. Fighting and Disorderly Conduct	156	361	56.78
2. Prostitution	0	82	100.00
3. Rape	5	21	76.19
4. Corruption	89	138	35.50
5. Fraud	32	65	50.76
6. Marriages	1,053	1,131	6.88
7. Divorces	4	130	96.92
8. Hospitalization for Mental Illness	3	147	97.95
9. Naturalization and Name Change	0	59	100.00

An analysis of Table I reveals that, in comparisons between events reported in newspapers and those found in official records, significant discrepancies exist in all items but one (Marriages). It is our belief that the actual discrepancies for items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 are far greater than our statistics reveal. For example, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the orderly processes of government and the collection as well as maintenance of public records were not of immediate concern or interest to the citizens of Coal Town. Characteristic of the entire area was the tendency for records to become subject to the personal and political whims of those in control. Such indifference to records, most apparent in statistics dealing with crime, were present in regard to other data considered socially unacceptable.

For considerable periods of time arrests were conducted in a haphazard fashion. At one stage in the history of Coal Town it was necessary for court costs to be paid before an arrest could be made. This condition was dictated by the behavior of citizens who were reluctant to follow through a complaint and by officials who were somewhat ambivalent about law enforcement. One informant had this to say by way of explanation:

> This notion about plunking down court costs, I think, can be explained very easily. It was a policy merely because neighbors would become angry with each other and would call up the police and say 'Come and arrest my neighbor because he is bothering me.' The police would come up and charge the neighbor and then you had in the meantime lost interest or had ducked out or ran away and you wouldn't prefer any charges against your neighbor so that left the police holding the bag. They finally had to be sure that you were serious about bringing charges against someone before they would act. In other words, you had to put down the money and this indicated that you were serious enough about bringing charges.

With respect to *Coal Town Weekly,* we acquired the following information which gave us some perspective on the nature and character of the news. The newspaper never possessed a secure economic base. Its circulation was limited and tenuous. Presentation of issues or taking sides on issues could mean a drop in circulation. As one resident of Coal Town stated:

> See, if you get too many people mad at you in this small community, they won't take your paper, and when they won't take your paper, you can't make a living.

Physical reprisal for the expression of differences of opinion was a frequent occurence and that intimidated many citizens of Coal Town, including its newspaper editor. All of this meant that many significant items of news were consciously or inadvertently omitted. Much of the space was devoted to "filler columns," sometimes called "canned news." A good deal of the daily news about occurrences in the community and surrounding areas was derived from newspapers outside the community. Much of the news was obviously biased to picture the community as being better than it was and to remove responsibility from local citizens for community difficulties. Perhaps the most fantastic illustration of the former was an effort to picture Coal Town as a health resort for ill people. This when the physical environment was hot and humid, water and sewerage of questionable health standards, and the social

climate repleted with hostility and violence. The following excerpt was taken from *Coal Town Weekly,* Friday, September 22, 1922:

A Health Resort

Few people realize that this city is making a record as a health resort that is equalled by few cities of its size. According to the reports reaching the *Coal Town Weekly* there has been only two deaths in this city within the past eighty days. One of these Saturday night was caused by a shooting following the love of two men for one woman, leaving only one death from sickness and this an infant. There are few cities of over 5,000 population that can boast of a record of this kind.

The city being new in its growth is mostly made up of people of middle age or under who have come here to live within the past four years. It has the flower of manhood and womanhood in this part of the state.

The city administration assisted by *Coal Town Weekly* organized the annual cleanup day which has met with hearty co-operation on the part of the public. Rubbish and tin cans have been removed from the city. The breeding places of flies and filth have been destroyed and causes for disease have been removed. While the city needs considrable more cleaning up, the condition is much better than it was a short time ago.

Another movement to lower the death rate of the city was when the mayor, the City Council and legal department of the city put a ban on the carrying of guns within the city. The arrests became so frequent and the fines so heavy that the carrying of a gun became unpopular. No more pernicious firing of guns and killings as the result of minor quarrels have occurred for months. While there have been three shootings one of which was fatal within the past three months neither of these was caused by drunken brawls, and death from this cause has emphatically been eliminated.

An examination of records suggested that the statistics regarding death were completely unreliable and that efforts to remove unsanitary conditions were exaggerated.

Implications

Needless to say we found *Coal Town Weekly* grossly deficient in any of the qualities suggested by either Parker or Salmon previously mentioned, and we take a dim view of attempting to write a history with newspapers of this type. We had no confidence that *Coal Town Weekly* was sensitive to the interests and ideas of the people, and any attempt to employ the newspaper as an interpreter of life and spirit would only result in distortions and misrepresentations.

The assertion by some historians that the small community is simple and knows itself well must be viewed with great caution. Both anthropologists and sociologists shy away from terms like "primitive or simple people" because of the deceptive connotations which such terms imply. Our own culture dealing with small communities reveal complex systems of social organization and differentiation.[7]

Finally the notion that the *newspaper* is a valid index of life in a *community,* is based on the assumption that the persons who reside there know what is *true* about the *community.* The evidence from our study does not support such an assumption. Instead we learned that *unreal* ideas about others, suspicion of *persons, neighbors, friends,* and distortions of community occurrences were pronounced and still persist. Thus the local newspaper in its presentation of news may perpetuate many ideas which are in fact distortions. Correction of such stereotypes does not occur, because they are perpetuated by the many. In this connection we might ask if our experiences in the utilization of *Coal Town Weekly* have been unique or typical of what the social scientist may expect in dealing with other local newspapers in general. It is our impression that the essential inadequacy of the local newspaper as a historical source at *any level,* be it accuracy, spirit of the time, or ethos, is far more typical than many are willing to recognize.

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[7] See especially W. L. Warner and associates, *Democracy in Jonesville,* New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, and Carl Withers, *Plainville, U.S.A.,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1945.

"Era of Good Feelings" Reconsidered

James Monroe's administration has long borne the epithet "the era of good feelings." The phrase has faithfully appeared in scores of books dealing with the Monroe era. For want of a better definition historians have clung to the antique verbalism long after it lost its meaning. A re-examination of the origin and meaning of the term in other than its political aspects suggests new reasons for retaining "the era of good feelings" in the idiom of United States history.

In the spring of 1817, the man who had terrorized Europe was brooding in his island exile at St. Helena, the Treaty of Ghent had restored peaceful relations between Great Britain and the United States, and the sharp domestic bickerings climaxing in veiled threats of secession had given way to the election of James Monroe. The first months of Monroe's administration were honeymoon months in which partisan struggles noticeably subsided. In part this was the work of the bland and courteous Monroe who sought to conciliate political opposition in New England. In 1816 Massachusetts and Connecticut had withheld their electoral votes from Monroe, but his inaugural speech pleased Federalists, and his appointment of John Q. Adams to the Department of State delighted many. A few weeks later Monroe announced that he would tour the eastern states. His presidential visit to New England was the first since Washington's.

The chief executive's tour was manna for the newspapers. Ever since the termination of wars in Europe and America and the easing of the extraordinarily bitter political tensions prior to and during the War of 1812 American journals had found little news of high excitement value. News stories about the Hessian fly, assorted murders and hangings, a ubiquitous sea serpent, and the routine affairs of Congress did not equal the wartime drama in which the British invasion and burning of the capitol, the battles of Lake Erie, Lake Champlain, and New Orleans, and the defeat of Napolean, and a plethora of historic events played across the pages of every newspaper. With the end of the war newspaper readers found peace tedious and politics infantile. On the eve of Monroe's tour the *Federal Republican and Baltimore Telegraph* took note of "the dull and drawling complaint against public papers." It wailed that its readers, "so

long accustomed either to the reports of wars from abroad, or of political discussions at home," blamed the newspapers for the deficiency of exciting news. The editors admonished the complainers to prize the calm as God's gift to a weary, battle-worn world. "The sterility of the newspapers is complained of . . . by those whose appetite is to be gratified only by rumors of monarchs deposed, of empires lost and won, or by details of horrid pomp and splendid miseries of war," asserted the *National Intelligencer.* It conceded that there was a "diminished interest" in newspapers "since the termination of the European war." The *Intelligencer* suggested that local papers remedy the situation by printing congressional debates and speeches. In Boston a religious journal loftily commented that "one newspaper after another comes to hand, is seized with accustomed eagerness, and perused with a panting desire to find something new and wonderful from some quarter of the political world. But disappointment ensues—the paper is laid aside in languid silence." A few editors used fraudulent stories, such as the report that Napolean had escaped from St. Helena, to color otherwise drab copy.[1]

For days prior to Monroe's departure from Washington newspapers in each community through which he was to pass announced plans for the celebrations and receptions in his honor. At first the president had indicated that his tour was merely a routine inspection of defenses, but it quickly transformed itself into a protracted promenade of triumph. Each town and village through which the president's party passed showered the entourage with all the glitter and gaiety it could summon. Governors and other high officials handed the president across state lines where more receptions and parades awaited him. As Monroe made his way to New England newspapers all over the country followed his "progress" and reprinted detailed descriptions of public dinners, official welcomes, and all ceremonies held in his honor. In New England the citizens were determined to match the displays of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Monroe arrived in Boston in time to celebrate the Fourth of July. The city outdid itself in its welcome. Speeches, dinners, inspection tours, parades, and fireworks greeted the president. At nearby Cambridge the ceremonies were appropriately august. Young Caleb Cushing delivered an oration in Latin, and Harvard College

[1] *Federal Republican and Baltimore Telegraph, n.d.,* quoted by *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), April 25, 1817; *National Intelligencer,* March 29, 1817; *Boston Recorder,* May 13, 1817.

duly solemnized the friendly atmosphere by conferring an honorary degree on the chief executive.

The Boston *Columbian Centinel,* a vigorous Federalist organ, gave minute coverage to the president's visit. It coined the term "era of good feelings" in connection with the holiday. The *Centinel* noted that party antagonism had greatly abated during the presidential visit to New England, and longtime political foemen actually gathered in pleasant conversation at former President Adams' festive table at which Monroe was the honored guest. "ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS" appeared as the title line of the paragraph. In Baltimore *Niles' Weekly Register* reprinted the *Centinel's* felicitous remarks along with those from various New England papers that euphorically traced Monroe's tour.[2]

Caught in the buoyant mood of the moment the *Centinel* had not intended to create an epithet for the whole of Monroe's administration. In 1817 the Boston *Centinel* had a penchant for coining extravagant, attention-getting title lines whether for murders or politics. It also had an inclination to use "era" freely. In February, 1817, the newspaper's Washington correspondent called certain political developments "the era of the triumph of New England policy." Less than two months after the *Centinel* had termed Monroe's visit to Boston "the era of good feelings," the same newspaper printed stories headed "Age of Fabricated Reports" and "Season of Bad Feelings," the first dealing with a British hoax and the second with a half dozen murders. "Era," "age," and "season" had cheap usage in the *Centinel's* composing room. The newspaper

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[2] Boston *Columbian Centinel,* July 12, 1817; *Niles' Weekly Register,* XII (July 19, 1817), 329. The full text of the *Centinel's* paragraph reads:

"ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS

"During the late Presidential Jubilee many persons have met at festive boards, in pleasant converse, whom party politics had long severed. We recur with pleasure to all the circumstances which attended the demonstrations of good feelings.

"The dinner given by the venerable Ex-President ADAMS, consisted of nearly forty covers—was arranged with noble simplicity, and unaffected elegance, and embraced as guests eminent men of all political parties. The accomplished and excellent Lady of the Ex-President did the honors, seated between the President of the U. States and the Governor of the Commonwealth. Besides these Personages, and their respective suites, there were among the guests His Honor Lt. Gov. Phillips; Chief Justice Parker; Judges Davis and Adams; Marshall Prince and Mr. Blake, District Attorney; the Commodores Bainbridge, Hull and Perry; Hon. William Gray, H. G. Otis, James Lloyd, and Josiah Quincy; W. N. Boylston, Esq.; President Kirkland; Rev. Messrs. Whitney and Coleman; Mr. SHAW, to whom the Republic of letters is greatly indebted for the establishment of the Athenaeum, and others whose names we could not learn."

did not use "era" in the sense of an historical epoch but in the sense of a fad or passing mood. As for the spirit of "good feelings," the newspaper acknowledged its early demise. On September 13, 1817, the editor feelingly complained that, following New England's cordial reception of President Monroe, the Federalists had become all the more "objects of violent but senseless abuse and recrimination" among Republicans. He wondered at the cause of "this fresh issue of gall and bitterness. . . ." Politics and hard feelings had resumed. Six years later *Niles' Weekly* mused that, for better or worse, the *Centinel's* epithet of the moment had clung to the whole of Monroe's administration.[3]

Within a generation the phrase found its way into textbooks and histories of the United States. Arthur Holmes, Emma Willard, Hugh Garland, Jesse Spencer, and Richard Hildreth employed the term. By "era of good feelings" they meant the absence of party strife in a period sandwiched between two administrations memorable for acrimonious political clashes. They used it as a synonym for political tranquility. In their hands Monroe's era became a moment of suspended animation, a pale interlude. Holmes confessed that he found the period so placid that it verged on the colorless. He acknowledged that "the pen of the historian finds little to do save to record legislative action" that would assume significant proportions and agitate the Republic in more epochal times.[4]

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[3] *Centinel*, Feb. 26, Sept. 6, Sept. 13, 1817; *Niles' Weekly*, XXIV (July 12, 1823), 292.

[4] Most writers dropped the "s" from good feelings by 1850. For a century this was the common usage. Arthur Holmes, *Parties and their Principles, a Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties*, New York, 1859, 87. Miss Willard's textbook commented that Monroe's administration was a period of "profound peace" in which the country reduced taxes, liquidated the national debt, pushed its boundaries to the Pacific, acquired Florida, improved the Army, and recognized South American independence. "The voice of party spirit had died away, and the period is still spoken of, as the 'era of good feeling.'" Emma Willard, *History of the United States, or Republic of America: with a Chronology Table and a Series of Progressive Maps*, New York, 1855, 371. Garland thought the "good feeling" was the result of the blending of parties. Hugh A. Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, 11th ed., New York, 1856, II, 114–115. Spencer termed Monroe's administration "unusually successful, so much so as to be termed 'the era of good feeling.'" Jesse Spencer, *History of the United States, from the Earliest Period to the Administration of President Johnson*, New York, 1866, III, 348. Hildreth credited Monroe's visit to New England as paving the way for "that complete amalgamation of parties which took place a few years later." Richard Hildreth, *The History of the United States of America*, New York, 1876, VI, 623.

Historians of the late nineteenth century particularly favored the phrase—hackneyed even then—and used it unsparingly. They perpetuated the placid-political-interlude interpretation. Alexander Johnston, professor of political economy at Princeton, gave "the era of good feelings" its classical definition. He marked 1817 to 1823 as the limits of the era, which he described as a period "when contests of national parties were practically suspended, partly through the exhaustion of one party (the federal party), and partly through the extinction of the surface issues of the past." In this interpretation the War of 1812 had swept away "traditional" political issues, and the uncontested election of 1820 signified the crest of the subsequent "good feeling." Implicit in this explanation was the assumption that political parties were negative quantities in governmental processes and their absence or liquidation thereby inaugurated a golden era in United States history.[5]

After the turn of the century some historians began to alter the definition of the time-honored phrase. They equated "good feeling" with "national feeling" and hailed the political calm as a manifestation of nationalism. Frederick J. Turner referred to the "joyous outburst of nationalism" that succeeded the war tensions and scattered the embers of bitter factionalism. But this was a "deceptive" and "superficial" calm veiling latent sectional antagonisms that later flared into discord. In much the same vein Carl Russell Fish pictured the Monroe administration as a "transitional period" filled with petty politics and sectional frictions that took the place of

[5] Johnston wrote that "party feeling was laid aside, and the leaders of both parties joined in receiving the president and in announcing the arrival of an 'era of good feeling.' The 'good feeling' lasted long enough to give Monroe an almost unanimous re-election in 1820...." Alexander Johnston, "Era of Good Feeling," John J. Lalor, ed., *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and the Political History of the United States,* Chicago, 1883, II, 108–109. Similar interpretations appeared in Edward Stanwood, *A History of Presidential Elections,* 3rd ed., rev., Cambridge, Mass., 1892, 70; John Fiske, *A History of the United States for Schools,* Cambridge, Mass., 1894, 298; James Schouler, *History of the United States of America, under the Constitution,* rev. ed., New York, 1894, III, 11–12; Edward Channing, *The United States of America 1765–1865,* New York, 1896, 196–197; *Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History from 458 A. D., to 1902,* New York, 1902, III, 251. The milk-and-honey interpretation was so deeply entrenched in the public mind that a burlesque history referred to the period as "The Era of Good Will; or, Monroe's Nesting," and caricatured it as filled with "the uneventful, unproductive felicities" that disappointed those questing after "historical sensations." "After the showery storm of Madison's aquatic epoch, rainbows came out in millennial blendings. Warm sunshine lay upon the land." John D. Sherwood, *The Comic History of the United States, from a Period prior to the Discovery of America to Times Long Subsequent to the Present,* 2nd ed., Boston, 1881, 396.

regularly organized party contests. Homer Hockett cited the Boston *Centinel's* encomium as evidence of the "widespread sentiment of nationalism." The "appearance of calm" in the 1820 election, said Hockett, was "an illusion" soon exploded by personal and sectional conflicts.[6]

Recent historians would alter the traditional phrase. Fish was willing to rename it the "Era of Factional Conflict." James Truslow Adams would re-christen it "the era of slack water, of pause before new and violent controversies," and Herbert Agar termed it a period of "intense bad feelings." More recently George Dangerfield concluded that the political feelings during Monroe's administration while high were "invariably not good." Dangerfield whittled the duration of good feelings to two brief years, the honeymoon period of Monroe's first term, ending with the panic of 1819. Two years, Dangerfield conceded, did not constitute an "era", but rather than discard the troublesome phrase he adopted it as the title of a book covering the administration of John Q. Adams as well as that of James Monroe.[7]

Thus the phrase gained currency among historians largely concerned with political history, and it clung with the fastness of a cliché long after subsequent historians had demolished the conventional definition.[8]

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[6] The long and habitual absence of the final "s" on good feelings probably encouraged the equation of "good feeling" and "national feeling." Frederick J. Turner, *Rise of the New West 1819–1829*, New York, 1906, 4, 6, 172, 265; Carl Russell Fish, *The Development of American Nationality*, New York, 1913, 128; Homer Hockett, *Political and Social History of the United States 1492–1828*, New York, 1925, 390–392.

[7] Fish, *The Development of American Nationality*, 128; James Truslow Adams, *History of the United States*, New York, 1933, II, 103; Herbert Agar, *Pursuit of Happiness; the Story of American Democracy*, Cambridge, Mass., 1938, 98; George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings*, New York, 1952, xi, xii, 91, 104. The older interpretation has not entirely slipped away. A recent dictionary of American history asserts that the name "Era of Good Feeling [sic] ... indicates the absence of political conflict." Michael Martin and Leonard Gelber, ed., *The New Dictionary of American History*, New York, 1952, 197. In *The Age of Jackson*, Boston, 1945, 19, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., refers to "the benign atmosphere of the Era of Good Feelings."

[8] Perhaps one reason for the endurance of the phrase is its convenience as a chapter title. It has been used by Edward Stanwood, *A History of Presidential Elections*, chapter 10; James Truslow Adams, *History of the United States*, II, chapter 4; Samuel E. Morison and Henry C. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, I, chapter 21. Ray Allen Billington, et al., used it as a paragraph title in *The United States; American Democracy in World Perspective*, New York, 1947, 139. Harry J. Carman and Harold C. Syrett prefer "Era of Good and Bad Feelings," *A History of the American People*, New York, 1952, I, 351.

The *Centinel's* casual use of "era" and "good feelings" reflected a different frame of reference than that which political historians later applied to the terms. In a different sense the period encompassing Monroe's administration *was* one of good feelings. Men of that day were not as deeply concerned about the political consequences of good feelings as they were about the religious and social implications of the term. The period following the War of 1812 was an era of good feelings in the sense of "benevolence," whose Latin roots enfolded the signification of good feelings.

"Benevolence" was a word widely used and possessed of special meaning for men of Monroe's day. Noah Webster defined it as the "disposition to do good; good will; kindness; charitableness; the love of mankind, accompanied with a desire to promote their happiness." Webster was briefly paraphrasing the well defined theological doctrine of "disinterested benevolence" which called Calvinists to work for the extension of God's kingdom by performing good works based on "disinterested" motives. In the late 1700's Samuel Hopkins, disciple of Jonathan Edwards, taught that God's moral nature was selfless or disinterested love of his creatures. Conversely, selfishness was sin. To have any assurance of salvation individual men had to demonstrate that they shared in God's benevolent nature. Disinterested good works betokened an individual's inner worth. The element of the doctrine that gave it the quality of a socially dynamic imperative was Hopkins' yardstick for benevolence. According to Hopkins the measure of benevolence inherent in each act was the extent to which the deed helped to increase the "public good." The truly benevolent person, taught Hopkins, valued his own happiness second to the general welfare and would, if necessary, willingly yield his own interests to those of the public good. To Hopkins the goal of benevolence was simply "the greatest good of the whole."[9]

The doctrine of benevolence constituted a powerful call for good works beneficial to society. In the late 1790's and early 1800's the response took the form of several self-styled "benevolent" societies. They worked to spread Christianity and civilization through

[9] Noah Webster, comp., *An American Dictionary of the English Language . . .*, New York, 1828, n.p.; Samuel Hopkins, *The System of Doctrines, contained in Divine Revelation, Explained and Defended . . .*, 2nd ed., Boston, 1811, I, 465–477; Oliver W. Elsbree, "Samuel Hopkins and his Doctrine of Benevolence," *The New England Quarterly*, VIII, 534–550. In illustrating the correct usages of "benevolence" Webster echoed Hopkinsian theology. "The *benevolence* of God is one of his moral attributes; that attribute which delights in the happiness of intelligent beings."

the world. The most typical organization was the domestic missionary society, such as the Connecticut, Massachusetts, or New York Missionary Societies. For them good works consisted of spreading Protestant teachings and combating the *bête noire* of eighteenth century orthodoxy—infidelity. These associations dispatched missionaries to the West to distribute Bibles and religious tracts and to take a census of religious habits among frontiersmen, Indians, and soldiers of the American army, "that sinkhole of infidelity." No less vigorously prosecuted were foreign missions to the heathen of India, "Owyhee," Ceylon, Smyrna, and Palestine. The great American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions began operations in 1810. Bible, Sunday school, and religious tract societies all aided in spreading orthodoxy over the nation. In the years just prior to Monroe's election these religious associations were growing with extraordinary rapidity. Bible societies, for example, beginning with a score of local associations before the War of 1812, by 1817 had multiplied five or six times and continued to proliferate in the next decade.[10]

As Monroe prepared to step into the executive place poverty plagued thousands of Americans. In Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and other towns, the hard times of 1816 and 1817 brought unemployment and distress. In the spring of 1817, a Baltimore paper spoke of the "horrors" of the preceding winter, and a group of Philadelphians asserted that the city had become an "emporium of beggars."[11] The hard times induced the creation of a large number of benevolent societies more secular in nature and avowedly devoted to the salvation of society. This second wave of benevolent associations, coinciding with Monroe's first term and receiving further impetus from the general depression of 1819 and after, consisted of a galaxy of local societies. They attempted to combat the "evils" of indigence and destitution.

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[10] Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1939, 115–214; Oliver W. Elsbree, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America 1790–1815*, Williamsport, Penn., 1928, *passim.;* New York *Christian Herald*, I (June 16, 1816), 187–192. In 1815 the Presbyterian General Assembly exclaimed that Bible societies "are multiplying daily. Scarcely can there be discovered any considerable portion of settled country in these States, where some association of this kind is not either organized, or about to be organized."

[11] *Federal Republican and Baltimore Telegraph*, n.d., quoted in Poulson's Daily American Advertiser, April 25, 1817; John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War*, New York, 1914, IV, 526.

During the hard times of 1816 and 1817 the "evil" most feared was pauperism and circumstances considered as contributory to pauperism. Chief among these was intemperance. Various communities established moral societies, societies for suppressing vice and immorality, societies for the prevention of pauperism, and societies for suppressing intemperance. Supporters of these societies avowed that intemperance directly contributed to pauperism. In 1816 the Society for Suppressing Vice and Immorality in Portland, Maine, reported that seventy-one of the eighty-five inmates of the Portland workhouse "became paupers in consequence of intemperance. . . ." The *Boston Recorder* commented that two-thirds of the $6,000 annually expended by Portland, a town of 5,000, went to "support the victims of intemperance." From this the editor estimated that Massachusetts spent more than $400,000 yearly "for neglecting to enforce the Laws against intemperance" and that the total for the nation was four million dollars. These sums, he said, far surpassed the regular state budget and were larger than the federal liquor tax, direct tax, and expenses of Washington's first administration. Taking Portland as "a fair specimen of the country at large," the *Boston Recorder* concluded that "intemperance is the immediate cause of the heaviest tax which is paid by the people." The lesson was simple. ". . . Efficient Moral Societies in every town in the United States would be worth Four Million Dollars per annum to the country."[12]

In the larger cities fuel-saving, debtors, and provident societies organized in an attempt to teach economy to the poor and secure employment for the unemployed. Women formed special auxiliaries or operated separate associations for widows, orphans, deaf-mutes, and other distressed groups. Dorcas societies distributed clothing. In New York city women operated organizations with such self-explanatory titles as the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children, Society for the Promotion of Industry, Society for the Relief of Respectable Aged Indigent Females, and the Female Association for the Relief of the Sick Poor and for the Education of Such Female Children as do not belong to or are not provided for, by any Religious Society. A special committee in New York city estimated that one-seventh of the population was living on

[12] *Boston Recorder*, June 5, 1816. For an example of a society for the prevention of pauperism, see Blanche D. Coll, "The Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, 1820–1822," *The American Historical Review*, LXI (October, 1955), 77–87.

charity. A great portion of these, it said, were victims of intemperance.[13]

The various societies grew so quickly that in Philadelphia a group of citizens feared that excessive benevolence only encouraged pauperism. They formed the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Economy to examine the situation. A similar group in New York city blamed drink, lotteries, pawnbrokers, and the numerous charitable institutions as major causes of pauperism.[14]

During the hard times of 1816 and 1817 Sabbath and Lancasterian schools for children of the lower classes received closer examination. "The Lancasterian system," noted one newspaper, "early impresses a sense of right and wrong, of order, cleanliness, subordination and obedience, an abhorrence of profane speaking, of lying, thieving, and every mode of deception. . . ." The same newspaper credited the absence of capital executions in one English county to the fact that general education had prevailed there. An advocate of Sabbath schools noted that Joseph Lancaster had drawn his students from "the lowest classes of society" and not one of the 4,000 ever stood charged with a criminal offense.[15]

Closely related to the growing interest in benevolent associations was the rise of the religious newspaper. In Massachusetts champions of orthodoxy Jedediah Morse and Jeremiah Evarts, editor of the *Panoplist,* the official organ of the American Board, urged Morse's son Sidney Edward Morse and Nathaniel Willis to establish a weekly journal devoted to religious news. On January 3, 1816, the *Boston Recorder* began publication. Morse based the *Recorder's* existence on the assumption that with the defeat of Napolean's scheme "to reduce the world under one gigantic despotism" and the declining role of politics "the resources of the age" were seeking new channels. Morse pointed to "plans of the most extended benevolence" springing up in the United States and Europe as the heralds

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13 New York *Christian Herald,* I (April 27, 1816), 65; McMasters, *A History of the People of the United States,* IV, 527.

14 *Ibid.,* 526, 529. The Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism listed drink, lotteries, bawdy houses, and charitable institutions as the "most obtrusive causes" of pauperism. Quoted by Coll, "Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism," *The American Historical Review,* LXI, 84.

15 Washington *Daily National Intelligencer,* May 22, 1816; Moses Stuart, *A Sermon, Delivered by Request of the Female Charitable Society in Salem at their Anniversary the First Wednesday in August, A. D., 1815,* Andover, Mass., 1815, 17–18.

of a "new era" in world history. "Politics are not the supreme concern of man," Morse's prospectus asserted.[16]

The *Boston Recorder* threw itself into the benevolent movement. In the next months it promoted the causes of various Bible, Sunday school, and missionary societies. It traced the activities of missionaries in Africa, India, and New Zealand. It printed the reports of numerous charitable organizations forming all over the north. The *Recorder* boasted that it carried news items "to occupy the thoughts and to interest the feelings of every real philanthropist." It also noted that several journals "whose columns are principally occupied with religious articles" now found public favor. It accepted the rapid-order establishment of the New Haven *Religious Intelligencer,* New York *Christian Herald,* Philadelphia *Religious Remembrancer,* Richmond *Christian Monitor,* and Chillicothe *Weekly Recorder* as "indications of a favorable change in the taste of the community." In addition the *Recorder* estimated that at least fifteen and perhaps twenty newspapers that had hitherto ignored religious matters now dedicated regular columns to "Religious Intelligence." A year later the *Recorder's* publisher complained that the unexpected "multiplication of religious newspapers" had severely cut into his own patronage.[17]

And the list was still growing. In Baltimore the editors of the *Federal Republican,* a Federalist organ, deplored "the din of this eternal smithery" and slapped rancorous Federalist extremists who thought "that the welfare of our country for centuries to come, ought to be governed by an Indian resentment, who when he expires, bequeaths to his successor nothing but his vermine and his tomahawk." The editors asked readers to remember that beneath party differences they were all Christians, and Christianity, they asserted, was not divorced from politics. They announced that they planned to establish a weekly religious paper entitled the *Christian Messenger.* On the eve of Monroe's visit to Boston the *Recorder,* pointing to the rapidly growing benevolent movement exclaimed "surely this is an 'age of benevolence,' an 'age of missions,' an 'age of wonders.' "[18]

In 1817 Americans could count hundreds of local benevolent associations that had not existed two or three years earlier. With newspaper support these continued to grow. The general depres-

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16 *Boston Recorder,* Jan. 3, 1816.

17 *Ibid.,* June 12, 1816, April 1, May 13, 1817.

18 *Federal Republican,* n.d., quoted by *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser,* June 20, 1817; *Boston Recorder,* March 18, May 13, 1817.

sion in 1820–1821 encouraged the formation of more benevolent associations. Meanwhile, the older associations, the Bible, Sunday school, tract, and missionary societies, multiplied. They stood at the threshold of a new and far more dynamic phase of development. In the space of a few years after Monroe took the oath of office several of the largest benevolent associations metamorphosed from local and regional societies into national or "American" organizations. Their ramiform auxiliaries inched into most communities and relayed substantial incomes to the parent organizations. In this period the American Bible Society, American Tract Society, American Education Society, American Sunday School Union, American Temperance Society, American Colonization Society, and the American Peace Society all came into existence.[19]

The political doldrums of 1817 did not constitute an "era" in the sense of an historical age, and "good feelings," such as they were, did not reign long in the field of politics. As such the "era of good feelings" is a misnomer. In the realm of social and religious history "good feelings" was a theologically and socially forceful principle that called forth an extensive number of voluntary, humanitarian societies. These especially flourished in Monroe's day. Spurred by the hard times of 1816 and after, a multitude of local groups attempted to meet the challenge of poverty and its effect on society. The public prints were full of benevolent activities, and the benevolent society movement constituted an era in social and religious history. Defined in these terms the "era of good feelings" deserves retention in the idiom of United States history.

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[19] John R. Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues 1812–1848*, Princeton, 1954, 20.

Book Review

Alexis de Tocqueville: The Critical Years 1848–1851. By Edward T. Gargan. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1955. Pp. xii, 324. Paper. $3.50.

The intelligent Frenchman of noble birth who spent nine months of 1831 in the United States on a mission studying penal reform and then returned to his native land to write his brilliant and penetrating *Democracy in America,* later entered national politics in France, and finally went back to his studies in an effort to analyze the causes of the French Revolution. To the experience of travel, statesmanship, and historical study Tocqueville brought a keenly analytical and reflective mind. It is upon his participation in the Revolution of 1848, his service as foreign minister in the cabinet of Odilon Barrot (June-October, 1849), and his attitude toward the assault upon the Second Republic by Louis Napoleon that Professor Gargan centers his research.

Not satisfied simply to narrate Tocqueville's life during these crucial years the author has reached out to connect thought with action, to compare Tocqueville's analysis of political, social, and economic institutions with those of Marx. This is an extremely worthwhile but difficult objective but one which Professor Gargan has achieved. The finished product is careful scholarship distilled through two questioning intellects.

Perhaps the highest tribute one can pay to Tocqueville and Professor Gargan is that this study forces the reader into a reflective mood where the Revolutionary tradition of France must be pondered against the timeless conflict between tradition and change.

Tocqueville, a man more aware of the intimate relationships between politics and social reform than most of his contemporaries, a man who believed governmental centralization frustrated individual liberty, a moderate who understood the delicacy of the balance between personal liberty and economic well being for the masses, never succeeded in bridging the gap between the world his intellect created and the one in which he lived. As a person who understood the almost impossible demands ideal democracy imposed upon the citizenry, yet a believer in political liberty, he found himself irretrievably caught between the authoritarian tradition and the politically unconscious masses in an age when education of the higher quality was restricted to the socially privileged.

Professor Gargan's indefatigable effort to place Tocqueville the active statesman and Tocqueville the thinker into the mid-nineteenth-century complex of facts and ideas provides us with a rich harvest. It strikes one reader that Tocqueville combined some of the characteristics of Montesquieu with those of the Girondin leaders of 1792 though unlike the latter he would not attempt to make the Revolution international in scope. His case, that of a nineteenth-century moderate who saw the significance of the changes being wrought by industrialization without being able to formulate a working program to accommodate them, once again demonstrates that the wise man dedicated to humanity is often frustrated and defeated in his own time yet is sometimes appreciated by future generations more wary of quick solutions.

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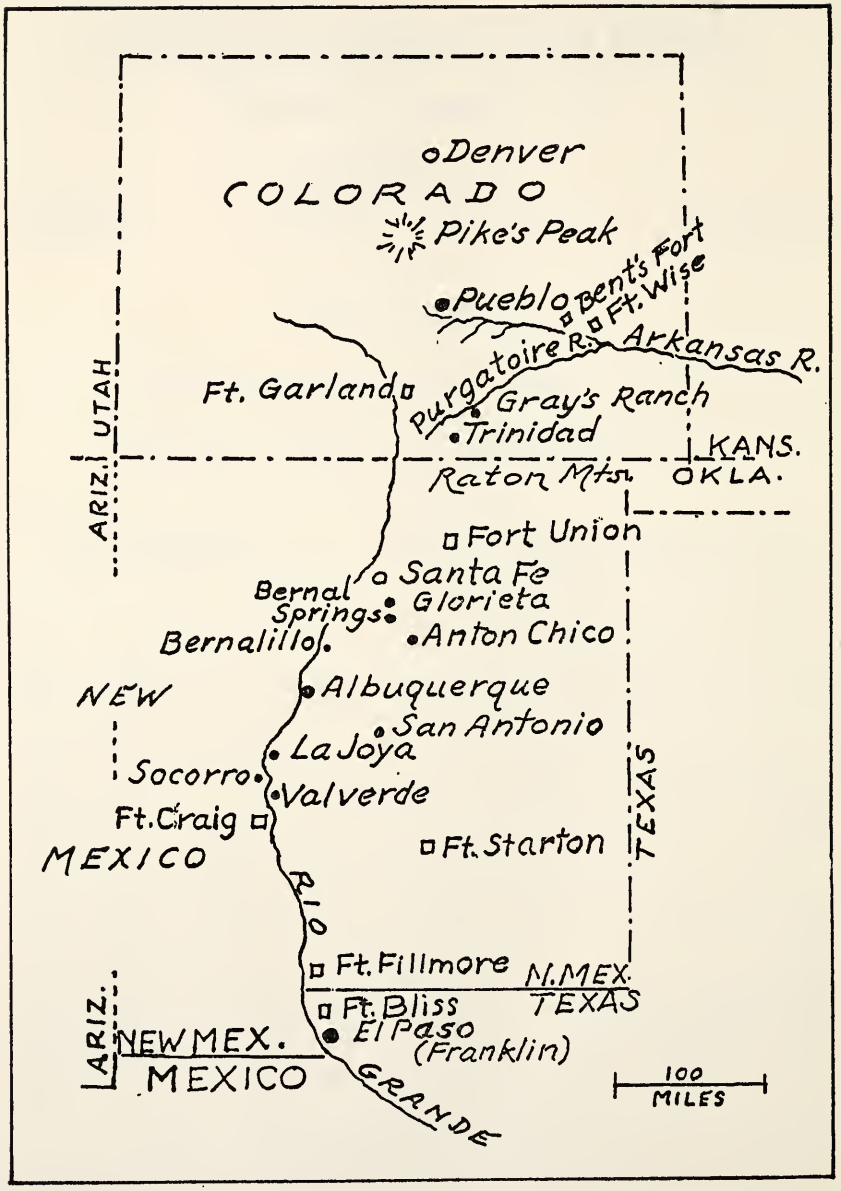
Colorado Volunteers Save New Mexico for the Union

At the outbreak of the War for Southern independence, the Territory of New Mexico, consisting of the present-day states of Arizona and New Mexico, was a vast expanse of land which lay between California and Texas. Since New Mexico was still largely a frontier area, the War Department had garrisoned troops at various posts within the Territory to protect the citizens from hostile Indians. Barren and forbidding in appearance, this country was barely able to produce enough to support its people. Of a population of 86,793, nearly 85,000 were Mexicans who, only thirteen years before, had become American citizens by terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Long isolated from the rest of the world, the Mexicans in general exhibited little interest in outside affairs. Aside from army personnel, several thousand Americans also resided in the Territory. Most of these were government officials, professional men, merchants, traders, ranchers, or miners. Though some mineral exploitation had begun, New Mexico offered little in the way of wealth. When war came, however, its geographical position caused it to be of considerable importance. If the Confederacy could control New Mexico it might be able to send a force westward to capture the state of California with its seaports and gold fields.

During the first week of July, 1861, Lieutenant-Colonel John R. Baylor, with a force of 375 men, occupied Fort Bliss, Texas, for the Confederacy. Forty miles to the north lay the federal garrison at Fort Fillmore. Rather than await a possible attack from that quarter, Baylor launched a "lightning" campaign which resulted in the capture of the entire force at Fort Fillmore, bringing all of



southern New Mexico under his domination. In accord with the majority opinion of the white inhabitants, Baylor created the Territory of Arizona from southern New Mexico and proclaimed himself military governor.

But Baylor's force was small and if the Federal forces in northern New Mexico rallied, the Confederates could be easily driven from the Territory. President Jefferson Davis was quick to take stock of the situation. In July, 1861, Henry Hopkins Sibley, an officer who had just resigned his commission while stationed in New Mexico, was commissioned a brigadier-general. He was ordered to raise a brigade in Texas and proceed west to drive the remaining Federals from New Mexico. Though ill-equipped and ill-supplied, the "Sibley Brigade" began its campaign. At the battle of Valverde on February 21, 1862, the Confederates defeated the Union troops under the command of the departmental commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward R. S. Canby. The Federals retreated to Fort Craig after the battle. Since that fort was too strong to be taken by siege, the Confederates decided to leave it behind and continue their march up the Rio Grande Valley. Fort Union in northern New Mexico was the most important post in the Territory, for it held valuable military supplies and was the key to communication with the East. If Fort Union fell, Fort Craig would have to yield, and all of New Mexico would be in Confederate hands.

After the disaster of Valverde, Colonel Gabriel R. Paul, the commander of Fort Union, assumed "command of all troops, posts, and depots" in the Department of New Mexico which were not immediately under the command of Colonel Canby.[1] Other than Canby, Paul was the next ranking officer. This action did not imply that Paul was superseding or even equating himself with Canby in authority. Since the commander of the department was cut off from regular communication, Paul was merely assuming authority in the northern district as Canby's subordinate.

As the Confederates continued their northward advance, Paul reported that the "state of affairs in the Department of New Mexico . . . [had] been daily growing from bad to worse." The bulk of the militia and considerable numbers of the volunteers had "deserted and taken to the mountains. A general system of robbery and plunder . . . [seemed] to be the order of the day." Although he was probably exaggerating, Paul maintained that there was "general panic in the country, and people . . . [were] flying from their homes."[2]

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[1] Paul to Adjutant-General, March 11, 1862, *War of the Rebellion . . . the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume IX, 645–646, hereafter cited as *O. R. A.* Unless otherwise noted, all citations are to Series I.

[2] *Ibid.*

The native New Mexican troops had proven sorely disappointing. Major James L. Donaldson, who was exasperated by their conduct, maintained that no reliance could be placed on either the militia or volunteers; and he advised that they be formally disbanded. According to the major, "they . . . [had] a traditionary fear of the Texans, and . . . [would] not face them in the field."[3] Canby's assistant adjutant, Captain Gurden Chapin, after observing that the militia had run away and that the volunteers were deserting in large numbers, expressed much the same attitude. To him the native troops were "worse than worthless; they . . . [were] really aids to the enemy, who . . . [caught] them, . . . [took] their arms, and . . . [told] them to go home."[4] From Fort Craig, Canby warned his subordinates, "Do not trust the Mexican troops."[5] Even Governor Connelly, who had written glowing letters about the merits and spirit of the new Mexican troops before the battle of Valverde, had changed his mind. Dejectedly he reported that "the militia . . . [had] all dispersed, and . . . [had] gone to preparing their lands for the coming harvest." Connelly admitted that this was "by far the best use that could be made of them."[6] The actions and attitude of the native New Mexican population made it quite clear that if the Union was successfully to hold the Territory, it would have to do it with white troops.

Before the battle of Valverde, Colonel Canby had sent urgent appeals to the Governor of Colorado for reinforcements. Though only one company of Colorado volunteers had arrived in time to take part in the encounter, Canby's pleas had some effect. On February 10, 1862, Major-General David Hunter, commanding the Department of Kansas to which Colorado was attached, instructed Acting Governor Lewis Weld to "send all available forces" at his disposal to reinforce Canby and to keep open his communication through Fort Wise. Weld was urged to "act promptly and with all the discretion of . . . [his] latest information as to what . . . [might] be necessary and where the troops of Colorado . . . [could] do most service."[7]

Governor William Gilpin, who earlier had taken measures to raise sufficient volunteer forces in Colorado, had failed to obtain

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[3] Donaldson to Thomas, March 1, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 636.
[4] Chapin to Halleck, February 28, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 634.
[5] Canby to Donaldson, March 7, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 647.
[6] Connelly to Seward, March 11, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 645.
[7] Hunter to Acting Governor of Colorado, February 10, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 630.

Federal appropriations for the defense of the Territory. As a result he had resorted to the unauthorized issuance of drafts on the United States Treasury. The drafts were used to buy ammunition and supplies for the equipping of the volunteer companies which were being organized.[8] If any citizen refused to accept these "Gilpin drafts," he was informed, "Now this is only a question of whether you will take them as an evidence of indebtedness or whether we take the property without any evidence of it."[9] Drafts to the amount of $375,000 were issued,[10] and when they were at first not recognized by the Federal government, financial distress ensued and a strong faction in the Territory demanded the governor's removal.[11] Gilpin was recalled to Washington to explain his conduct; and while he was away, the territorial secretary, Lewis Weld, assumed the duties of the governorship.[12]

Acting Governor Weld attempted to notify the commander of the Department of New Mexico that he had ordered seven companies of the First Regiment Colorado Volunteers to march to Santa Fe.[13] Since Canby was still at Fort Craig and cut off from regular communication, Major Donaldson, commanding in Santa Fe, received the notice of the coming of reinforcements. Quickly he dispatched a "trusty" messenger to Canby, urging him to delay the enemy as much as possible and communicating the fact of a Colorado regiment being on the road to his relief.[14]

Three companies of the First Colorado were stationed at Fort Wise, Colorado, and "feeling that it was possible that . . . [Canby] might desire these troops" also, Weld notified Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel F. Tappan to consider himself under Canby's orders.[15] Upon

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8 Percy S. Fritz, *Colorado, The Centennial State*, New York, 1941, 202.

9 John M. Chivington, *The First Colorado Regiment*, manuscript in the Bancroft Library, University of California. Written in 1884 this reminiscence is a valuable primary source. However, since twenty-two years elapsed between the events and the writing of the work, there is danger that Chivington's memory may have been faulty in part. It is interesting to compare this work with his official reports which were written immediately after his participation in the several battles in the ensuing New Mexican campaign.

10 Fritz, *Colorado*, 202.

11 Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming*, San Francisco, 1890, 426–427. Bancroft deals at length with the New Mexican campaign and the role of the Colorado Volunteers in his *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530–1888*, San Francisco, 1889. A brief summary of the campaign can be found in his *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, II, San Francisco, 1889.

12 William C. Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War*, Denver, 1906, 53, 75.

13 Weld to Canby, February 14, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 631.

14 Donaldson to Thomas, March 1, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 636.

15 Weld to Canby, February 14, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 631–32.

receipt of this communication, Tappan informed Donaldson of Hunter's and Weld's orders.[16] Fort Wise was an important post in holding open the line of communication with the East, and Governor Weld suggested that "in the present state of things at the post it might be easily held by a detachment of Mexican troops," thus freeing Tappan's men for field duty.[17] Acting for Canby, Donaldson lost no time in instructing Tappan to join the other companies of his regiment which were coming to New Mexico by way of Fort Garland.[18]

After ordering all the available troops in his Territory to the aid of Colonel Canby, Weld expressed the hope that the Colorado Volunteers would prove to be efficient and would ably support the Union cause in New Mexico. The governor "trust[ed] that their enthusiasm and patriotic bravery . . . [would] make amends, and more than that, for their lack of service in the past."[19]

Although the Colorado troops were known to be on their way, several of Canby's subordinates believed that more reinforcements would be necessary. Captain Gurden Chapin sent a dispatch to Major-General H. W. Halleck, commanding the Department of the Missouri. The captain explained that he would have sent his communication to General Hunter, a nearer military commander, but he feared that Hunter would "be absent on the field" when his letter arrived. Chapin asserted that New Mexico was in a "critical" condition, and though aware that a force of Colorado Volunteers was on the way, he feared that the regiment might not arrive in time to save the Federal forces in New Mexico from immediate danger. To Chapin, the conquest of New Mexico by the Texans was a "great political feature of the rebellion. It . . . [would] gain the rebels a name and a prestige over Europe, and operate against the Union cause. It therefore should not only be checked, but it should at any future period during the spring or summer be rendered impossible." The captain believed that the Texans would not rest with the forces that they already had with them, but would attempt to get large additions to their command in New Mexico, "in order to extend their conquest toward Old Mexico and in the direction of Southern California." Chapin begged "in the name of Colonel Canby who . . . [was] fighting two to one, and laying valuable

16 Donaldson to Thomas, March 1, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 636.
17 Weld to Canby, February 14, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 632.
18 Donaldson to Thomas, March 1, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 636.
19 Weld to Canby, February 14, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 632.

lives upon this issue, to send at once—lose not a day—at least two regiments infantry and a battery of rifled cannon to Fort Union. These troops . . . [could] not serve the Government better than by saving this Territory."[20]

Before abandoning Sante Fe, Major James L. Donaldson had also sent out urgent pleas for more reinforcements. The major notified General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-General of the Army, that he considered Canby's situation as critical and "would most earnestly advise that no time be lost in sending re-enforcements" to New Mexico.[21] Donaldson also wrote to General Halleck and informed him that although a regiment of Colorado Volunteers was on the march to New Mexico, the snow was deep on the Taos Mountains; and he feared that the regiment might not get through in time. Donaldson "urgently recommended" that four regiments of infantry, some cavalry, and a battery of rifled cannon be sent at once to Fort Union.[22]

Colonel Paul at Fort Union was also impressed with the gravity of the situation and he urged a "re-enforcement of 4,000 men, two batteries of rifled cannon, and six siege pieces." To insure an adequate consideration of New Mexico's plight, Paul ordered Major Donaldson to go to Washington, D. C., "to represent the interest and wants of the department" and to "enter more fully into details."[23]

As the Confederates continued their northward advance, Colonel Paul began concentrating the Union troops in the northern district at Fort Union. At that post he began organizing and equipping a column with the intention of marching southward to form a junction with Canby's forces. Once the Union armies in the Territory were united, Paul believed the Federals would be able to drive the Texans out.[24] On March 9, Paul sent a dispatch to Canby in which he unfolded his plan to unite Canby's troops with those of his own. According to this arrangement, Paul would move southward from Fort Union on March 24. By taking a back road, avoiding the Rio Grande Valley and the Texans, Paul and his column of 1,200 white troops and four guns, expected to arrive two days later at the village of Anton Chico. Here he would await the arrival of Canby's men, which, if they left on March 20, could arrive five days later. Should the Confederates threaten either his position or that of Canby before

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20 Chapin to Halleck, February 28, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 634–35.
21 Donaldson to Thomas, March 1, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 636.
22 Donaldson to Halleck, March 1, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 637.
23 Paul to Adjutant-General, March 11, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 646.
24 *Ibid.*

the junction was made, Paul planned to continue his southward march until he met Canby's column. Paul suggested that in order to confuse the Texans as to his true intent, Canby should send his mounted men with two guns to a point about thirty or forty miles up the river from La Joya. This feint would make it appear that the Federals planned to attack the Confederates in the rear. While the Texans were being deceived, Canby's main column could proceed safely to Socorro and across to Abo Pass and Punta del Agua. With a mountain range between him and the Rio Grande Valley, Canby could safely proceed to Anton Chico.[25] In a dispatch dated March 14, Canby approved of Paul's plan and the commander of Fort Union hastened to complete the organization of his column.[26]

* * *

During the latter part of August, 1861, the First Regiment Colorado Volunteers was organized. The nucleus was the two volunteer companies which had already been raised. John P. Slough, the captain of Campany A, was appointed colonel. Samuel F. Tappan, captain of Company B, became lieutenant-colonel, and John M. Chivington was commissioned a major.[27] After the organization of the regiment, the women of Denver City presented the unit with a "handsome silk flag."[28] On the Platte River, two miles from the center of Denver City, barracks were erected and the encampment was named Camp Weld, in honor of the territorial secretary.[29]

The regiment may have been composed of good material in the main; but it nonetheless contained a considerable number of undisciplined and restless men. Most of the volunteers had enlisted with the idea of serving actively in the eastern campaigns and were thus disappointed with the inactivity of Camp Weld. As a result of this idleness, the men became dissatisfied and reckless. There were as many as two or three companies at a time who were stripped of their arms and placed under arrest with their officers for mutiny.[30]

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25 Paul to Canby, March 9, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 653.

26 Paul to Adjutant-General, March 24, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 652.

27 Ovando J. Hollister, *A History of the First Colorado Regiment of Volunteers*, Denver, 1863, reprinted as *Boldly They Rode*, Lakewood, 1949, 5. Hereafter cited as Hollister, *A History of the First.* This is an interesting primary account written more or less in diary form by a member of the First Regiment. Bancroft, in writing his several accounts of the Colorado Volunteers in the New Mexican campaign, relied heavily upon Hollister's work.

28 *Rocky Mountain News*, August 21, 1861.

29 Hollister, *A History of the First*, 6.

30 Chivington, *The First Colorado Regiment.*

Discipline was difficult to maintain and the citizens of Denver City had to have an extra police force to protect their property from the nocturnal forays of the drunken and rowdy soldiers.[31] The men were publicly accused of being "chicken thieves, jayhawkers, turbulent and seditious, a disgrace to themselves and the country."[32] Three companies of the regiment were sent to help garrison Fort Wise; but the men were no better pleased there than they had been at Camp Weld. Fort Wise was commanded by Lieutenant Warner, a regular army officer, "who regarded the manners of the volunteers with great disfavor, a view which was entirely reciprocated."[33]

Early in January an express arrived from New Mexico bringing the news of the Confederate advance and a call for assistance.[34] Since Colorado was within the jurisdiction of the Department of Kansas, permission from the commander of that department had to be received before the troops could be sent to New Mexico's aid. Gilpin had already departed for Washington, and Acting Governor Weld applied to General Hunter for authority to send the regiment to New Mexico.[35] Major Chivington also wrote to Hunter and asked for marching orders. He maintained that unless the men were put into the field, they would desert in the spring.[36] Finally the "long desired word to march was given," but the month's delay in receiving the order from Fort Leavenworth caused considerable discontent among the troops, as most of them were anxious to see action.[37] No doubt the citizens of Denver City were also quite relieved when the order arrived, sending the First Regiment on its way.

The day after the battle of Valverde (February 22, 1862), Colonel Slough, in command of the seven companies of the regiment, left Camp Weld.[38] Nine days later the other three companies, under Tappan, set out from Fort Wise. On March 4, while Tappan's men were encamped at Bent's Fort, Captain A. F. Garrison, Chief of Subsistence at Fort Union, arrived by special coach. Unaware that the regiment had already begun its march, Garrison had been ordered to Fort Wise to urge the Volunteers' "immediate advance." In order to move ahead as rapidly as possible, Tappan ordered his men

31 Bancroft, *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming,* 421.
32 Hollister, *A History of the First,* 7.
33 Bancroft, *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming,* 421.
34 Hollister, *A History of the First,* 36.
35 Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers,* 75.
36 Chivington, *The First Colorado Regiment.*
37 Hollister, *A History of the First,* 36.
38 Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers,* 75.

to carry only a change of shirts and a pair of blankets. No longer incumbered by their baggage wagons, the three companies were able to march rapidly forward. On March 5, Tappan left the Arkansas River and headed toward the Purgatoire, some seventy-five miles away. While en route, Lieutenant B. N. Sanford of Company H arrived from Slough's command to inform Tappan that the seven companies had crossed the Arkansas River at Pueblo the morning before, and that the two detachments of the regiment would unite at the crossing of the Purgatoire River.[39]

On March 7, the three companies arrived at the headwaters of the Purgatoire, at the base of the Raton Mountains, half an hour after Slough and the bulk of the regiment had arrived.[40] The rendezvous was at Gray's ranch, near the present-day city of Trinidad.[41] That evening the camp of the reunited regiment had the "bustle and hum of a small town." The assembled regiment " 'fell in' and gave the Colonel three cheers and a tiger. He raised his cap, but did not speak." Colonel Slough apparently did not properly understand human nature. Although he had a noble appearance, the men seemed to lack confidence in him. "His aristocratic style savor[ed] more of eastern society than of the free-and-easy border to which he should have become acclimated." He had been the regiment's colonel for six months and during that period he had never spoken to his troops. He failed to understand that "on the eve of an important expedition, after a long absence," a few words from him were indispensable to a good understanding.[42]

On March 9, an ambulance carrying several officers from Fort Union met the Coloradoans on the southern slope of the Raton Mountains.[43] They informed Slough that they had abandoned Santa Fe and urged him to march ahead as fast as possible. Colonel Paul had reportedly mined Fort Union and was preparing to abandon the place if the Texans appeared.[44] Upon receipt of this news, the regiment "added wings" to its speed. By three o'clock the volunteers had reached the Red River where they halted and ate both dinner and supper at once.[45] Major Chivington lined up his men and asked, "All who will make a forced march for the night to save

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39 Hollister, *A History of the First*, 45–46
40 *Ibid.*, 46.
41 Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers*, 77.
42 Hollister, *A History of the First*, 47.
43 *Ibid.*, 48.
44 Chivington, *The First Colorado Regiment.*
45 Hollister, *A History of the First*, 48.

Fort Union, step two paces to the front." Every man stepped out.[46] After leaving behind everything except their weapons and a pair of blankets, the men started out with all "possible and impossible speed" for Fort Union, some eighty miles distant. The baggage was left in charge of a corporal's guard and would be brought on later.[47]

With the wagons emptied of most of their loads, many men climbed aboard to ride. Some three or four hundred were still left to walk, however, and "away into the wee hours of morning did . . . [they] tramp, tramp, tramp, the gay song, the gibe, the story, the boisterous cheer, all died a natural death. Nothing broke the stillness of the night but the steady tramp of the men and the rattle of the wagons." The overworking of the draught animals proved to be unwise and many began to "drop and die" in their harnesses. Had the regiment not attempted to drive the animals so hard, they could "doubtless have made Union without a halt." The next day the Coloradoans—soon to be called "Pike's Peakers" by the Texans—arrived at Maxwell's ranch on the Cimarron River, thirty miles from Fort Union. The owner was kindly disposed toward the Union soldiers and several companies were given quarters to sleep in that night. He also supplied the troops with 160 pounds of sugar and 100 pounds of coffee. The effects of the heavy driving had played heavily upon the stock and the fifteen or twenty animals were sick and many died, forcing the regiment to travel more slowly as the only alternative of losing them all.[48] The First Coloradoans had traveled sixty-seven miles continuously since the morning before, and a total of ninety-two miles in the previous thirty-six hours.[49]

As the regiment approached Fort Union, the terrain became "uniformly descending." The valley in which the fort lay was about "four miles wide, smooth and pretty, bounded on the east and west by timbered ridges of no great elevation." Through the valley ran a little stagnant, alkali stream, and "within a mile of the west side of the vale, on a gentle swell, . . . [was] the fortification. A simple field-work of moderate size, with bastioned corners surrounded by dirt parapet and ditch, with a slight abattis at exposed points." Although the armament was poor, consisting mainly of howitzers, the supply of ammunition was considered adequate for

46 Chivington, *The First Colorado Regiment.*
47 Hollister, *A History of the First,* 48.
48 *Ibid.,* 48–50.
49 Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers,* 78.

any emergency. Forming part of the works were bomb-proof quarters capable of housing five hundred men and all the fort's supplies. Under a two hundred foot "precipitous and rocky" ridge which bounded the valley on the west, lay the old post. It was "built of adobes, logs, slabs and lumber without any apparent order of system, and contain[ed] the usual accommodations for barracks."[50]

The First Regiment arrived outside Fort Union on March 11. About dusk, the men had finished unloading their wagons and had formed in a column and marched into the post "with drums beating and colors flying." The volunteers halted in front of commanding officer Gabriel R. Paul's quarters, where "in rather unintelligible words," both he and Governor Connelly welcomed them. "They commended the zeal with which . . . [the Colorado Volunteers] had accomplished the march from Denver, but said nothing of the battle of Val Verde or of the whereabouts of the enemy at present; subjects that might naturally be supposed to slightly interest" the newly-arrived troops. Apparently the men were unimpressed with the welcoming oratory and one trooper remarked that he "thought they might as well have permitted the boys, hungry and tired, to go to their camp near the fortification as to have perpetrated this farce." The regulars at the post, numbering about four hundred, were also glad to see the Coloradoans "for they had been whipped in the fight below, and it was an undisguised fact that the Texans were having it their own way in the Territory." Within a few days the quartermaster department began issuing the Volunteers arms and clothing in preparation for the coming trial with the Texans.[51]

As in any army camp rumors "flew thick and fast" and when a dispatch arrived from Colonel Canby on March 14, speculation arose among the men as to the contents. "Madame Rumor . . . kindly furnished the news as follows: Canby . . . [had] captured a large train coming from below, with an escort of one hundred and fifty men. Gen. Sibley . . . [was] at Santa Fe, and recruits . . . [were] rapidly swelling his ranks. His number . . . [was] variously estimated at from twenty-five to thirty-five hundred." Rumored reports were also "rife every day of the near approach of any desired or undesired number of Kansas troops, but, like the Advents' Messiah, the date of their arrival . . . [was] postponed from time to time to suit the prophet."[52]

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50 Hollister, *A History of the First*, 51–52.
51 *Ibid.*, 52, 54.
52 *Ibid.*, 54.

Soon after the arrival of the Colorado troops, an incident occurred in the Volunteers' infantry camp which was "but the natural consequence of the lawless tone of public sentiment in the regiment." Sergeant Philbrook of Company K had overindulged in spirits and when Lieutenant Gray of Company B attempted to arrest him for being drunk and disorderly, the sergeant fired five shots at him. One ball struck the officer on the bridge of the nose and glanced down and lodged in the lower part of his face. Though he must have suffered intense pain, Gray was not seriously injured. Officers who were standing nearby emptied their revolvers at Philbrook, but he managed to elude their aim. Later that night he was captured and confined to the guard house. This event caused great excitement among the men and Company B demanded "instant justice by lynch process." Company K attempted to tone down the incident by circulating several versions of the affair which were favorable to their sergeant. Only the quick and firm action of the officer of the day, Captain Sanborn, saved the prisoner from "Judge Lynch." He was safely locked up while the "excited passions of all parties" was allowed time to cool. During the month of April, Philbrook was tried by general court-martial and executed by a firing squad.[53]

Other events indicated that at least certain members of the First Regiment left much to be desired. When Captain Pollock left for Denver City with the wagons which had transported the regiment to Fort Union, public property was discovered missing from the post. Suspicious that Pollock and his men had helped themselves, the commander hastily dispatched a detail of twenty men under Sergeant Wilson at sundown to overtake the train and bring back the stolen goods. On the night of March 21, a group of the Volunteers broke into the sutler's cellar and "gobbled a lot of whiskey, wine, canned fruit, oysters, etc."[54] Apparently the men of the regiment were behaving no better at Fort Union than they had in Denver City.

When Colonel Slough arrived at Fort Union, post commander Paul "had the mortification to discover" that the Coloradoan's commission was senior to his. By virtue of this seniority, Slough assumed command of the Union forces in the northern district and planned to carry out the junction with Canby according to Paul's original plan. Woefully, Paul wrote the Adjutant-General that he had been deprived of a command which he had taken "so much pains to organize and with which . . . [he had] expected to reap

[53] *Ibid.*, 53–54, 86.
[54] *Ibid.*, 54–55.

laurels." Paul pointed out the injustice of an inexperienced officer of only six months' service taking precedence over him who had "many years' service, and who . . . [had] frequently been tried in battle." In order to prevent any such future occurrence, Paul "modestly" asked the War Department to bestow upon him the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers.[55]

While Slough was completing the details for the coming march southward, a dispatch, dated March 16, arrived from Colonel Canby on March 21.[56] Canby had changed his mind about the date of the proposed junction. Apparently he believed that Fort Union was too valuable a post to be abandoned at this time, for he made it clear that all other points in the department were of no importance compared to Fort Union. Not only was it essential to maintain that post, but the line of communication with the East had to be kept open at all costs. If it became evident that Fort Garland could not be held, Canby, who did not know that Slough had assumed command, ordered Paul to abandon and destroy it and concentrate all the troops in the northern part of the department at Fort Union. Here he was to remain until reinforcements from Kansas, Colorado, or California arrived.[57]

While awaiting the anticipated reinforcements, Canby suggested that Paul harass the Texans with partisan operations. This would involve relatively small units which would obstruct the Confederates' movements and remove or destroy any supplies that might possibly fall into the Texans' hands. Should sufficient reinforcements arrive, giving Paul a large enough force to operate directly against the enemy, Canby ordered Paul to notify him immediately of his plans so that he could cooperate from Fort Craig.[58] Later when Canby learned that Slough had assumed command, he sent essentially the same instructions to that officer.[59]

Canby intended to retain Fort Craig as long as possible, for it was ideally situated to cut off any supplies coming to Sibley from the Mesilla Valley. It also might serve as a strategic point to cut off any contemplated Confederate retreat down the river. There was no need to send any immediate help to Fort Craig as it was stocked with enough food and supplies to last until April 10. Should Canby consider it necessary to abandon the fort, however, it would

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55 Paul to Adjutant-General, March 11, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 646.
56 Paul to Adjutant-General, March 24, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 652.
57 Canby to Paul, March 16, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 653.
58 *Ibid.*, 653.
59 Canby to Slough, March 18, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 649.

mean that his forces would have to unite with Paul's troops as soon as possible. All supplies which could not be carried would be destroyed and the sick and wounded would be left at Limitar. Thus relieved of these incumbrances, Canby's column could move rapidly northward to junction with the forces from Fort Union. When the decision to abandon the post had been made, Canby planned to send several messengers, by different routes, who would verbally inform Paul of the route and point of union. But until such information was received, Paul was instructed not to move from Fort Union for the purpose of forming a junction.[60]

Differences of opinion soon developed between Slough and Paul over the interpretation of Canby's instructions. The matter was undoubtedly intensified by Paul's jealousy and Slough's apparent lack of tact. Garrison duty at Fort Union certainly was not improving the restless and undisciplined nature of Slough's men. His awareness of this fact, as well as his desire to "reap laurels," too, were probably the main reasons which motivated him to interpret loosely Canby's instructions. The "Pike's Peakers" had come to New Mexico to fight and Slough made it known that he planned to move against the enemy.[61]

Paul vigorously opposed Slough's decision to move in force from Fort Union. The colonel addressed a letter to Slough and informed him that he had originally turned over his command to him for the purpose of carrying out the plans approved by Canby "for the relief of and junction with his forces, to the end that when united the entire force should be used to drive the enemy from the Territory." But now Canby's dispatch of March 16 ordered that the movement from the post be delayed until further instructions. Paul believed that Slough's decision to move toward the enemy was contrary to Canby's orders; but if that officer was determined to move toward the enemy, Paul requested that he do so with his own regiment, two sections of artillery, and the regular cavalry which had already been sent out ahead as scouts. The remaining units of artillery and Captain W. H. Lewis' command of infantry were in Paul's opinion the smallest forces which could garrison the post securely. Yet even this would not be sufficient should Slough meet with disaster or advance so far as to be unable to return rapidly to the fort's relief if it was attacked.[62]

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60 Canby to Paul, March 16, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 653.
61 Paul to Adjutant-General, March 24, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 652.
62 Paul to Slough, March 22, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 654.

In reply to Paul's protests, Slough insisted that Canby's instructions were not only "to protect Fort Union, but also to harass the enemy." Slough reasoned that by moving his command to the vicinity of Bernal Springs, forty-five miles from Fort Union, both ends could be accomplished. At that point the Federals would be between the enemy and Fort Union, and thus the post would be as much protected as if the troops had remained there. At Bernal Springs the Union troops could "better operate for the double purpose of harassing the enemy and protecting Santa Fe from depredation." An officer had reported that the Texans at San Antonio (New Mexico) were weak, and the Coloradoan asserted that, such being the case, the troops under his command would be "sufficient to control their action and to defeat them in case of an attack." In concluding his reply, Slough stated that he needed every available man and therefore he could not consent to leaving behind the troop units which Paul deemed necessary for the defense of Fort Union.[63]

Deeply chagrined by Slough's reply, and "believing that the best interests of the Government demanded it," the commander of Fort Union once again addressed a note to the Coloradoan,[64] urging him to reconsider his decision and to submit to the plan of the departmental commander. Indignantly Paul stated that Slough must have been "aware that no part of the regular force of this district would have been turned over to . . . [him] had the instructions of Colonel Canby of the 16th instant been received twelve hours earlier." Again he stressed the fact that Slough's contemplated move was in direct conflict with Canby's orders and the possible attack upon the Texans at San Antonio was "most certainly" in violation. If that attack proved unsuccessful, it would result in "the entire loss of the Territory, at least for a time, and render its reconquest much more difficult." Paul pointed out that Canby must have had good reasons to change the plan he had at first approved, and his anxiety to have the change made known was indicated by his sending duplicates of his instructions by different messengers. "In the name of the department commander, of the best interests of the service, and of the safety of all the troops in this Territory," Paul implored Slough to reconsider his decision.[65]

Colonel Slough, either because he did not have time or because he did not consider it worth his while, did not bother to answer

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[63] Chapin to Paul, March 22, 1862, *O. R. A.*, *IX*, 654.
[64] Paul to Adjutant-General, March 24, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 652.
[65] Paul to Slough, March 22, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 655.

Paul's last letter. He had made up his mind to move southward and he had no intention of changing his plans. Paul was so upset that he wrote the Adjutant-General about the situation in order "to throw the responsibility of any disaster which . . . [might] occur on the right shoulders." Fearing the worst, Paul asked for reinforcements to the amount of 4,000 men and several batteries of the best cannon.[66]

Governor Henry Connelly of New Mexico was fully aware of the "little discord in relation to the movement . . . from Union," but since he was anxious for offensive action against the Texans, he sided with Slough. Connelly reasoned that Slough's movement "would curtail the limits of the enemy, and mayhap lead to the expulsion of the enemy from the capital" which was now reported to be occupied by one hundred men with two pieces of artillery. Connelly averred that this "slight" difference of opinion between the two officers would "lead to no unfavorable result, as Colonel Slough . . . [would] advance upon the road that the enemy . . . [would] necessarily have to march to reach Union, should an attempt be made upon that place." Another reason for Connelly's stand that Slough's action was justified was his belief that the Texans were "preparing for a precipitate retreat from the Territory by way of Fort Stanton on the Pecos River." His stand was given credence by the fact that the Texans were making a "sudden and mercenary demand for money" from the inhabitants of the Territory. The Confederates had not "behaved with the moderation that was expected, and . . . desolation . . . marked their progress on the Rio Grande from Craig to Bernalillo. Exactions and confiscations . . . [were] of daily occurrence, and the larger portion of those who . . . [had] anything to give or to lose . . . left their houses and contents a prey to the invaders" and sought refuge within the Union lines. To Connelly this effort on the part of the Texans to secure as much money and goods as possible from the people was a clear indication that they were preparing to leave. Had the Confederates planned to remain in New Mexico, Connelly reasoned that they surely would not antagonize the native population in such a manner.[67]

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[66] Paul to Adjutant-General, March 24, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 652–653.

[67] Connelly to Seward, March 23, 1862, *O. R. A.*, *IX*, 651–652. Fort Stanton was evacuated by Federal forces shortly after the surrender of the garrison at Fort Fillmore. For a short period one of Baylor's companies occupied the post, but the Confederates soon left because of their lack of manpower and the relative unimportance of the post.

About noon of March 22 Colonel Slough and his command sallied forth from Fort Smith, leaving that post practically ungarrisoned. The column consisted of the First Regiment Colorado Volunteers, 916 men; Captain W. H. Lewis' battalion of the Fifth Infantry and Captain James H. Ford's independent Colorado company, 191 men; Captain George H. Howland's detachment of the First and Third Cavalry, 160 men; Captain John F. Ritter's battery of four guns, 53 men; and Lieutenant Ira W. Claflin's battery of four small howitzers, 32 men. Slough's combined force consisted of 1,342 men.[68]

Continuing on the main road to Santa Fe, a detachment under Major Chivington engaged in a successful skirmish with the advance guard of the "Sibley Brigade" on March 26. Two days later at the battle of Glorieta, Slough's main column clashed with a large force of Texans commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel William R. Scurry. Before the battle, Slough had divided his forces, and Major Chivington was sent with a detachment to circle to the Confederate rear. In the main battle the "Pike's Peakers" were driven from the field. The day was not lost, however, for Chivington's force arrived at the rear area where the Texans had drawn up their supply wagons. Swooping down upon the few unsuspecting defenders, Chivington and his men succeeded in destroying the whole train of some eighty wagons. The Texans may have won the battle of Glorieta, but due to Chivington's action, they had lost the victory.[69]

Upon hearing the news of Slough's impetuous advance, Canby considered that officer's conduct a breach of his orders. Rather than face a court-martial, Colonel Slough resigned his commission and left the Territory. His place was filled by the popular Major Chivington. The forces of Canby and those in the northern department now united and were able to drive the Texans from the land.

The destruction of the Confederate supply train had been a deciding factor which caused Sibley to abandon New Mexico. Supplies had been scarce enough as it was, but the loss of the eighty wagons of vital necessities convinced the Texans that continuance of the campaign was untenable. The timely arrival of the Colorado

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[68] Slough to Adjutant-General, March 30, 1862, *O. R. A.*, IX, 534.
[69] Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 694–97.

Volunteers and the bold actions of Colonel John P. Slough and Major John M. Chivington had saved New Mexico for the Union.[70]

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[70] An expeditionary force under the command of Colonel James H. Carleton set out from California to drive the Texans from New Mexico. When the "California Column" arrived at the Rio Grande, the Confederates had already retreated from the Territory. This episode is briefly treated in Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, San Francisco, 1890. A more detailed account is found in George H. Pettis, *The California Column*, Santa Fe, 1908.

Rival Urban Communication Schemes for the Possession of the Northwest Trade, 1783-1800

Students of American History have had difficulty writing about the city because they have consciously or unconsciously accepted the tendency of other students of the urban phenomena outside the field to view corporate entities as fictitious persons and to accept non-human explanations for the city's causation, generative dynamics and motivation. Typical of this approach outside the field of history is the statement of Ernest W. Burgess:

> The new community, the modern city is, as we know, the product of the machine. . . . It was the economic utility of the machine rather than man's desire that brought together great aggregates of workers in the process of mass production and so created the city.[1]

This neuterism in approach is reflected in the work of some of the better students of history either by a semi-biographical approach to the writing of the history of cities[2] or by the resort to a running segmented chronology whose only synthesis is to be found in a compound of statistics and customs held together by a rationalized scope.[3]

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[1] Ernest W. Burgess, "The New Community and Its Future," *The Annals*, CXLIX, part 1 (May, 1930), 157. "Cities have been able to support their large populations because of the presence of the great basic employment units—factories. . . . Cities are also the centers of great service institutions. . . ;" John F. Cuber, ed., *Sociology*, New York, 1947, 350. "Howard Woolston distinguishes the modern from the ancient city by the turning point of the Industrial Revolution, which brought about the remarkable urban concentration of the present day." Howard W. Odum, *Understanding Society, The Principles of Dynamic Sociology*, New York, 1947, 319–320.

[2] George Sessions Perry, *Cities of America*, New York, 1947, *passim;* George R. Leighton, *America's Growing Pains: The Romance, Comedy and Tragedy of Five Great Cities*, New York, 1939, *passim.* Cf. Elmer T. Peterson, *Cities are Abnormal*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1946.

[3] Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742*, New York, 1938, pp. v, vi, vii; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878–1898*, New York, 1933, 79, 80 *et passim;* Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The City in American History," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVII, No. 1 (June, 1940), 43–66; Allan Nevins, "The Rise of the City . . . by Arthur Meir Schlesinger . . . ," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXI, No. 1 (June, 1934), 108–109.

Bridenbaugh did not believe cities "to have been solely the product of nineteenth century industrialism, but rather to have germinated with the earliest settlement on American soil." Schlesinger continues in this vein by asserting that "as the larger American towns gained in corporate consciousness, THEY reached out for dependent territories and engaged in

Regardless of field, students of urbanism have always recognized that the city was a concentration point for many dynamic factors and forces.[4] They have produced in one form or another reliable accounts either of the city's specialized functions or the actions of many of its significant population segments.[5] This writing is suggesting that if the premise "Cities are the focal points in the occupation and utilization of the earth by man,"[6] be accepted, greatest attention in the historical treatment of the urban phenomena should be centered upon human desire in delineating generative and motivating forces and human impulses in accounting for urban activity.

Under this approach a city becomes a locally, highly concentrated association of human beings internally divisible into dynamic ethnic, economic, religious or other groups, each with a positive consciousness of group interest, discipline and leadership.[7] Naturally those groups that possess the means and skill for effective "occupation and utilization" would acquire a position of leadership superior to that of other groups in this plural society, and their aspirations are apt either to dominate the urban scene or strongly influence others existing therein. Alliances or liaisons of varying tenure between the possessors of entrepreneural skill and capital and those useful

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contest with one another for economic dominance." This statement in the *Review* followed Allan Nevins critique on Schlesinger's book to the effect that "at every turn he is hampered by his inability to cite economic causes for social results, or describe economic results from social causes."

4 Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, pp. v & vi; H. W. Odum & H. E. Moore, *American Regionalism*, New York, 1938, 113, 119; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *loc cit*, 49; "In its confines were focused all of the new economic forces: . . . ," Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Rise of the City*, 79–80; "The large cities of the United States represent a concentration of people, finance, industry, power and the arts, and reflect the process of urbanization as a way of life symbolic of what has been sought under the name of civilization," Odum, *Understanding Society*, 323; C. D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 242 (November, 1945), 7–12.

5 Robert G. Albion & J. B. Pope, *The Rise of New York Port*, New York, 1939; Robert G. Albion, *Square Riggers on Schedule*. . . Princeton, 1938; J. B. Bishop, *A Chronicle of One Hundred and Fifty Years: The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York*, 1768–1918, New York, 1918; Margaret G. Myers, *The New York Money Market*, Vol. I, New York, 1931.

Enlightening accounts of special interest groups identifiable with urbanism may be found in Robert A. Brady, *Business As a System of Power*, New York, 1943; Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict*, Chapel Hill, 1941; Ferdinand Lundberg, *America's Sixty Families*, New York, 1938; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson*, Boston, 1945.

6 Harris and Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," *loc. cit.*, 7.

7 George Ruble Woolfolk, "The Cotton Regency: The Northern Merchants and Reconstruction, 1865–1880," Mss Thesis, The University of Wisconsin, 1947, ch. 1 *et passim*.

in the production of goods and services account for both the solidarity and the basic character of the city. The interaction of these groups in the projection of their aspirations generates much of the internal growth and external outreach of the city. Therefore studies of urban rivalry, properly developed, clearly reveal group aspirations and the anatomy of projection to achieve the goal.

Frederick Jackson Turner pointed out that "For many years the three eastern sections conceived of the west as merely an emanation of themselves, and regarded it as a battle field in the struggle for power between the original sections, the raw materials wherewith political and economic, and even religious preponderance could be built up."[8] Though Callender indicated years ago that "the interest which the seaboard cities felt in the Western trade before 1815 was aroused more by the prospects of future development than by its actual importance,"[9] it is significant that the tactics and strategy of this struggle were planned and executed by men in the major seaboard cities. The projected schemes for the possession of the northwest trade may have been premature, but the schemers and the schemes clearly follow a pattern of urban imperialism, the dynamics of which have changed only in degree and not in kind.[10]

The generation and projection of the economic aspirations of a group or groups in the city depends vitally upon the challenge presented by the nature and the accessibility of a form of wealth which the group or groups in question have the initiative and/or the capacity to exploit. Major economic aspirations and activity of early America were centered in the occupation and exploitation of the soil. As people filled up the land from the seaboard, the Northwest in its turn came within the interest of aggressive entrepreneurs. Geographically, urban schemers in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia–Maryland were the only ones, despite the charter land claims of others, with direct access to the northwest. Time was to demonstrate that New York had the best natural path inland.[11] Pennsylvania[12] and Virginia–Maryland,[13] while not fa-

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[8] Frederick J. Turner, *The Significance of Sections in American History*, New York, 1932, 197.

[9] Guy Stevens Callender, *Selections from the Economic History of the United States*, 1765–1860, Boston, c. 1909, 271.

[10] "Projects in American History and Culture," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXI, No. 4 (March, 1945), 519.

[11] A. B. Hulbert, *The Paths of Inland Commerce*, New Haven, 1920, 16; *Supplement to the Annual Report of the State Engineer and Surveyor of the State of New York for the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1905*, Albany, 1906, 15.

[12] *Journal of the First Session of the House of Representatives of*

vored geographically in the same way, had some rather real advantages in the approaches to the inland gates. George Washington understood that the region beyond the mountains was naturally drained by the Ohio–Mississippi Rivers into the entrepôt of New Orleans, and correctly predicted the path of the "proceeds."[14]

Accessibility, as significant as it is, is often conditioned by initiative, collective or individual, shown by those whose fortunes lay in the lap of high politics. Conflicting charter claims by the colonies and the necessities of empire regulation had done much to frustrate the ambitions of land speculators with their companies down to the Revolution.[15] Projectors of the Indiana, Vandalia and the Illinois Wabash Land Companies were prominent in the infighting that placed western land across the path of Confederation[16] and abandoned somewhat their faith in political solutions only after Jefferson's ordinances made such activity pointless.

The turning to solutions that were orientated to economics more

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the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Beginning Tuesday, December 7, 1790, Philadelphia, 1790, 201; Hulbert, *Paths of Inland Commerce,* 17.

[13] Elbert J. Benton, *The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest, John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences,* XXI, No. 1 & 2, (1903), 36, n. 17; A. B. Hulbert, *Washington and the West,* New York, 1905, 86–88; Hulbert, *Paths of Inland Commerce,* 18–19.

[14] Hulbert, *Washington and the West,* 102; Emory R. Johnson, *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States,* 2 Vols. Carnegie Institute Publication No. 215A, The Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, 1915, 207. In the middle 1790's pork, flour, grain and whiskey were freighted by flat-boat to New Orleans. After disposal of both cargo and boat, the owner often returned by sea to Philadelphia or Baltimore where a supply of merchandise was obtained, and the six month journey was completed into the western region by horseback or wagon. Johnson records that goods worth more than one million dollars were received at New Orleans from up the river in 1799; cf. Lewis Cecil Gray and E. R. Thompson, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860,* The Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, 1933, 869–70.

[15] T. P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Monograph No. 25, The University of Virginia, New York, 1937, Chapters XXI & XXVI; S. E. Morison, *Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution, 1764–1788 and the Formation of the Federal Constitution,* Oxford, 1923, II; Hulbert, *Washington and the West,* 9 *et passim.* Washington had been in the organization of the Mississippi Company in 1763, and before the Revolution held by patent 30,000 acres and by survey 10,000 acres. 10,000 of the 30,000 acres were on the Ohio and the rest were on the Great Kanawha.

[16] H. B. Adams, *Maryland's Influence Upon Land Cessions to the United States, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* 3rd Series, vol. III, No. 1 (1885), *passim;* Turner, 112; Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, No. 439, New York, 1938, 315–316; Hulbert, *The Ohio Company, 1786–1795: Records of the Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company* Marietta College Historical Collections, vol. I & II, Marietta, Ohio, 1917.

than politics provides a clear picture of the anatomy of urban aggression. The first factor in such a consideration is the origin and nature of urban aspirations. The self-produced leadership of a group often creates, symbolizes or verbalizes an aspiration commonly held by the group or one to which the group by the nature of its component may easily subscribe. The schemes for the exploitation of the trade of the northwest are a good example of this.

Virginia's attention, along with that of Maryland, to the possibilities of draining the trade of the Northwest through their leading urban centers was to be called by George Washington. Before the revolution was formally over Washington left his camp at Newburg, New York, to make a three weeks tour up the Mohawk river into central New York to take a general view of that path of empire.[17] Returning he wrote from Princeton, October 12, 1783, to Chevalier de Chastellux concerning his impressions as follows:

> I could not help taking a more extensive view of the vast inland navigation of the United States and could not but be struck by the immense extent and importance of it, and of the goodness of that Providence which has dealt its favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them. I shall not rest content 'till I have explored the western country and traversed those lines, or a great part of them, which have given bounds to a new empire.[18]

Glean as one may whatever elements of the "First in peace—" tradition are bound up in this statement, it is hardly conceivable that Washington did not know of the battle to dispossess his native state going on at that time on the floor of the Congress of the Confederation and in Europe of her claims in the Northwest. Probably he knew of Virginia's intention to cede the territory north of the Ohio. What then must have been his feelings when his mind went beyond his gaze up the Mohawk and conceived the advantage that nature had placed in the hands of Virginia's old rival. Indeed so disturbed was he that the following year, 1784, he turned down an opportunity, perhaps the last of his lifetime, to visit Europe as the man who brought the arrogant Briton to terms, to make his famous tour of the West, avowedly for looking after his western estates, but actually to find a route to counteract the advantage of New York.[19] Having secured along with Clinton, who made the

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17 Hulbert, *Washington and The West*, 7.

18 Andrew Stewart, Report on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in 1826, Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, *19th Congress, 1st Session*, Report No. 228, 2; Adams, *Maryland's Influence on Land Cessions*, 82–83 for a critical estimate of Washington's comment.

19 Adams, *Maryland's Influence on Land Cessions*, 84, f. n. 1.

trip through New York with him, six thousands acres on the Mohawk, Washington was to remark: "I know the Yorkers will delay no time to remove every obstacle in the way of the other communication so soon as the post of Oswego and Niagara are surrendered."

Washington was interested in improving the Potomac before the Revolution and had requested that Jefferson confer with Thomas Johnson, former Governor of Maryland, on the subject as Johnson had been a warm promoter of the Potomac scheme also before the Revolution. Furthermore Jefferson, in a letter to James Madison in 1783, had pointed out the advisability of ceding the land south of the Ohio immediately.[20] Jefferson thought that it was to Virginia's interest to cede the Kentucky region as this would be a way to keep communication with Indiana, Greenbriar and surrounding territories. Jefferson reasoned that these lands would be thickly populated and the mprovement of the Potomac river would afford "the shortest water communication by five hundred miles of any which can ever be got between the western waters and the Atlantic and of course promise us almost a monopoly of the western and Indian trade."

Apt as Jefferson's analysis of the situation appeared, Washington's trip to the west in 1784 gave him new insight. Using Detroit as a point of departure, Washington was convinced that the Potomac river was the natural last leg of the closest route to the heart of the northwest.[21] Facing the major drawback in this idea George Washington observed:

> It may be said perhaps, that as the most direct routes from the lakes to the navigation of the Potomac are through the state of Pennsylvania—and the interest of that state opposed to the extension of the waters of the Monongahela, that a communication cannot be had either by the Yohiogany or Cheat rivers; but herein I differ. An application to this purpose would in my opinion, place the legislature of that commonwealth in a very delicate situation. . . .[22]

Washington knew that there were at least one hundred thousand souls west of Laurel Hill burdened with long overland travel and wanted an extension of inland navigation to Philadelphia. What if they did not get it? Said Washington: "They will seek a mart elsewhere; and none is so convenient as that which offers itself through the Yohioganny or Cheat rivers." What would result if

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20 Turner, *Significance of Sections*, 115.
21 Hulbert, *Washington and the West*, 86 *et passim*.
22 *Ibid.*

Pennsylvania sought to impede this natural flow of commerce? Thought Washington:

> The certain consequence therefore of an attempt to restrain the extension of the navigation of these rivers (so consonant with the interest of these people) or to impose any extra duties upon the exports or imports to or from another state, would be a separation of the western settlers from the old and more interior government; toward which there is not wanting a disposition at this moment in the former.

Whatever Washington was in national politics he was certainly provincial in his economics; but it was urbanly inspired and typical of the spirit of the age. The leading commercial centers of Maryland and Virginia had acquired an aspiration. Late in 1783 and early in 1784 Virginia and Maryland respectively accepted the idea of Washington and the suggestion of Governor Harrison by chartering jointly the Potomac Company.[23]

Associated capitalists in Albany and New York City acquired their aspiration in much the same way as did those of Alexandria, Richmond and Baltimore. As events were to prove, Washington was right about the "Yorkers."[24] New Yorkers, like Virginians, had an interest in improving the waterways of the state that dated back before the Revolution. The New York Assembly on November 3, 1784, and the Senate on November 8 received a petition of Christopher Colles proposing a plan of inland navigation on the Mohawk river. Mr. Adgate of the Assembly committee reporting asserted that Colles' idea ought to be encouraged, but not at govern-

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[23] Albert Gallatin, "Roads and Canals," *American State Papers; Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States from the First Session of the First to the Second Session of the Tenth Congress inclusive Commencing March 3, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1809.* X, Doc. No. 250, Washington, 1834, *passim;* Elkanah Watson, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Existing Condition of the Western Canals in the State of New York From September, 1788, to the Completion of the Middle Section of the Grand Canal in 1819 . . .*, Albany, 1820, 87; Alvin Fay Harlow, *Old Towpaths, The Story of the American Canal Era,* New York, 1926, 12.

The James river company was no doubt the more favored of the two river improvements, perhaps because Richmond sat on its banks and because it reached out to the great Kanawha toward the Ohio. Yet the two projects were often legislated upon together. See generally *A Collection of All Acts and Parts of Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia From October 1784, down to the Session of 1829–30 Inclusive Relating to the James River Company—Together with an Appendix Containing the Regulations of the President and Directors of said Company for the Superintendence and Preservation of the Improvements Under their Direction,* Richmond, 1830; hereinafter cited *James River Company Acts.*

[24] On the question of which state led in internal improvement ideas or who had the original idea for the Erie canal see the statement in the *Supplement to the Annual Report of the State Engineer & Surveyor of the State of New York,* 15 *et passim.*

ment expense. Colles had suggested that the scheme be carried out by private enterprise in the first place and only wanted a state charter with the monopoly rights that usually went therewith. However, the improvident Irish engineer, who had come to America before the Revolution, was to pester the lawgivers of the Empire State all during '85 and '86 with petitions for money for surveys, to say nothing of the good people of the state with lectures and pamphlets on a proposition they considered visionary.

Christopher Colles' project failed doubtless for the want of subscribers; yet the New York Assembly journal of March 17, 1786, throws some light on the measure of the man:

> Mr. Jeffrey Smith moved for leave to bring in a bill entitled "An Act for Improving the Navigation of the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, and the Onandada River with a view of opening an inland navigation to Oswego, and for extending the same if practicable to Lake Erie."[25]

It is unimportant that nothing ever came of Colles or the Smith Bill. The idea was there and the path of the "Yorkers" attempt to get to the west was marked.

Then came Elkanah Watson. This globe-trotting New Englander who made his home in New York had visited Washington at Mount Vernon in 1785.[26] While he could not forget Washington's sending his faithful Negro servant Billy with a warming pan for his cold bed, neither could he forget that Washington's

> mind was intently settled on a project of connecting the western waters, by canals, with his favorite Potomac, and of improving the navigation of the Monongahelo and other branches of the Ohio, principally with the view of diverting the fur trade from Detroit to Alexander . . . also the produce of those vast intervening countries which lie as yet in a state of nature.

1788 found Watson back in New York state to see what the state's possibilities were. Standing on the eminence at Fort Stanwix (Rome) which divides the St. Lawrence and the Mohawk water systems Watson conceived

> "the idea of the practicability of counteracting at least by a fair competition the favorite plan Washington was then pursuing, with zeal and ardour, to allure all the trade of the western regions connected with the Ohio and the great lakes, even the fur trade from Detroit to Alexandria."

Governor George Clinton in a speech to the Assembly January 5, 1791, voiced the same idea thus:

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[25] The "Smith" bill was the result of another Colles petition in the same session.

[26] Watson, *History of Western Canals*, 8.

> Our frontier settlements, freed from apprehensions of danger, are rapidly increasing and must soon yield extensive resources for profitable commerce; this consideration forcibly recommends the policy of continuing to facilitate the means of communication with them . . . as to prevent the produce of those fertile districts from being diverted to other markets.[27]

On March 24, 1791, New York passed her first canal law entitled "An Act Concerning Roads and Inland Navigation" authorizing the following of the path Colles had suggested.

With geography on their side after the land cessions, entrepreneurs of Pennsylvania were not to be left out of the race to the west. Historic Fort Pitt, formerly one of the keys to France's American empire, stood within the confines of the state. There was the Juniata finger of the Susquehanna reaching toward the fingers of the Allegheny, the main body of which lay toward French Creek and Presqu'-île on Lake Erie. Besides this the leading commercial city on the Atlantic was Philadelphia and this town was blessed with some of the best financial brains the nation afforded. Robert Morris, "Financier of the Revolution," was president of the "Society for Promoting the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation" and thus was in vanguard of those who led Pennsylvanians into the fray.[28]

Pennsylvanians, too, had a pre-revolutionary record for canal building which, it must be admitted, seems more practical than that of any of their competitors.[29] Yet, after the Revolution Pennsylvanians had let these ideas slumber until in 1791 their society on Navigation improvement called attention to the states' possibilities thus:

> If we turn our view to the immense territories connected with the Ohio and Mississippi waters and bordering on the great lakes it will appear . . . that our communication with those vast countries (considering Fort Pitt as the port of entrance upon them) is as easy and may be rendered as cheap as to another port on the Atlantic tide waters.[30]

Here, again, Pennsylvanians were sensible. They were willing to concede the draining of the wealth of the Ohio basin to the Potomac; yet both the society and the legislative committee that favorably reported their idea were confident that the trade of the lake region

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[27] *Supplement to the Annual Report of the State Engineer & Surveyor of the State of New York*, 28.

[28] *American State Papers*, X, Doc. 250.

[29] John L. Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation Systems in the United States*, Philadelphia, 1888, 44.

[30] *American State Papers*, X Doc. 250—February 7, 1791.

and beyond into Wisconsin would be theirs, "at a period not very remote, unless, by a faulty timidity, or illiberal parsimony, we should ingloriously leave so noble an undertaking to our more enterprising posterity." An old aspiration had come to life with greater fervor.[31]

Schemes as grandiose as these would naturally require considerable capital. If the land is to be occupied and utilized schemers must turn to the cities and like-minded men of their ilk in the natural concentration points for this second important factor, capital. The projects of this period reveal the influence of the merchant, because the funds, the men, and the purposes were predominantly commercial in nature.

The revival of plans antedating the Revolution for canal construction brought capital from many sources. Dutch financiers, interested in America through war time business, participated in the Potomac Company, the Western Inland Lock Company of New York, and a Connecticut River Improvement Company project in 1780's and 90's.[32] State assistance often was obtained for these schemes, and merchants, who were naturally interested, provided large amounts of the domestic private capital involved. William Hartshorne and John Fitzgerald of Alexandria, merchants and organizers of the bank there several years later, were among the original officers of the Potomac Company in 1785. The Washington connection as President of both the Potomac and the James river schemes loosened the purse-strings of many a tight-fisted investor.

Robert Morris of Philadelphia was eager to invest in the James and Potomac River companies, subsequently heading similar organizations in Pennsylvania where merchants had longed for internal improvements and where his name because of his Revolutionary

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[31] *Journal of the First Session of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Beginning Tuesday, December 7, 1790,* February 19, 1791. Monday, April 4, 1791; As late as 1796, Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, on the completion of the Wood Creek Mohawk connection, addressed his Legislature thus: "Permit me earnestly to recommend a liberal perseverance in extending and facilitating a communication between different parts of this state, by roads and canals. Indeed the spirited example which your predecessors gave, has excited in one of our sister states an emulation so active, as to demand some extraordinary exertions on our part, to retain a just portion of the benefits arising from an intercourse with the lakes and the western waters to which our local position and other natural advantages have justly entitled us." Watson, *History of the Western Canals,* 102.

[32] East, *Business Enterprise,* 307 *et passim; American State Papers,* X, Doc. 250.—Note the names of the directors in the charters.

services commanded such a high degree of public confidence.[33] Morris and his business associates William Bingham and Thomas FitzSimons were among the first of more than two thousand persons to apply for shares in the Lancaster Turnpike in 1792. Bingham became the first president of the corporation, and FitzSimons and Tench Coxe were also officers. Morris also helped secure subscriptions for New York's Inland Navigation companies in 1792.

The chief credit for promoting the New York schemes goes to Elkanah Watson, Philip Schuyler, Goldsbrow Bonyar, and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, founders and directors of the Albany bank.[34] Barent Bleeker of an old New York family, and also among the organizers of the Albany bank, was the Navigation Company's first treasurer. New York City's business men were of course interested in such plans, which would benefit their port, a situation not true at the time of the Erie. James Watson, war commissary, New York broker and friend of Elkanah Watson, was among the first to support the canal companies in 1792,[35] while Nicholas Hoffman, a gentleman of an important colonial family, took subscriptions for them in the city. Nicholas Law, Dominick Lynch, James Watson and "probably John Watts," two old and new financial figures in the city, subsequently became directors of either the Northern or Western Inland Lock Navigation companies. Abraham Ten Broeck and Cornelius Glen, Albany merchants and Bank Officials of old Dutch stock, served in a similar capacity. Among the many subscribers to the companies were Geract W. Van Schaick, cashier of the Albany Bank and many New York City persons of varied social origins and financial interest, such as merchants Le Roy and Bayard and George Scriba; Lawyers Rufus King and Richard Harson; gentlemen Gilbert Aspinwall and John Lawrence. The newly prominent merchant, Comfort Sands, directed a canal engineer to Schuyler.

The funds for these enterprises were secured by stock issues authorized by the state legislatures. Rarely were anything like all of the subscriptions for stock paid in or all of the stock subscribed. Besides, the stock bore no definite face value and the holders thereof might be called on for more and more money.[36] Funds could be

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[33] Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation Systems*, 44. Note that Timothy Matlock and Tench Francis were Secretary and Treasurer respectively of the Susquehanna–Schuylkill scheme Morris headed.

[34] Watson, *History of Western Canals*, 4–22.

[35] *Ibid.*, 85–86.

[36] See Charters in *American State Papers*, X, Doc. 250; *Supplement to the Annual Report of the State Engineer & Surveyor of the State of New York*, 36 *et passim*; *James River Acts*, *passim*.

supplemented from the tolls of the project, if any; and if all else failed there was always the state to take up the slack. The charters also called for subscription payments in gold or silver or Spanish milled dollars.[37]

Despite the banking connections of the New York schemers, their companies' charters prohibited their establishing a bank and, interestingly enough, held the capital down, both fixed and liquid, to "just enough for present debts and purposes." Initial sums for were often raised by a state authorized lottery, the proceeds from which were pocketed by the companies after the awards were made.[38] Financing by lotteries was no unmixed blessing and the results were never predictable.

Internal growth or external rivalry presents, as does the need for capital, a creative challenge to the urban entrepreneur. Here he shows a capacity either for ingenious adaptability or inspired originality in creating patterns of business organizations sufficiently flexible to bring aspiration into reality. The Potomac scheme, in particular, was quite unique.[39] The company not only received a charter from Virginia but from Maryland as well, "and was the first of the interstate commercial corporations since so common." As it has been so well said: "Here were the same individuals sustaining similar political relations to different governments, constituted in each an artificial person, dealing under one name with property in each and amenable in each to the supervision of its authorities."[40] Interstate incorporation was not general practice, especially after the Constitution of the United States was ratified. It was thought that article one, section ten of that instrument prohibited such interstate "compacts," hence joint state incorporation was not to appear again until the third quarter of the nineteenth

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37 New York accepted her own bills of credit, bills of the Bank of the United States or of the Bank of New York.

38 Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America ... 1787–1794.* Philadelphia, 1794, 329. The lottery method was favored by Coxe for raising the $500,000 necessary for the inland manufacturing town on the west bank of the Susquehanna. The Susquehanna–Schuylkill Company in 1793, when in financial straits, asked and secured a lottery from the Pennsylvania legislature. The experience of this company was typical; the lotteries were notoriously unreliable as sources of income.

39 Simeon E. Baldwin, "American Business Corporations before 1789," *The American Historical Review,* VII, (April, 1903), 460–461.

40 The Bank of North America, chartered by Pennsylvania and New York in 1782, preceded the Potomac Charter, but was not of exactly the same character. The Dismal Swamp Canal Company, chartered by Virginia in 1787 and North Carolina in 1790 is the same line with the Potomac project.

century.[41] There was a fear of corporations in this period. As it has been so aptly observed in gauging popular reaction to this form of business organization: "As they reviewed their history in England, they saw that a monopoly had walked in the shadow of each. They were in their very nature the embodiments of special privileges."[42] The communication projects were, in organization, monopolistic in nature; yet they were under such strict government regulation, and, as time demonstrated, were so dependent there-on that the sting of monopoly was dulled somewhat.

A good deal of power was, by the charter, lodged in the hands of the president and the board of directors; yet the stockholders were allowed considerable control.[43] This is important because it shows an evolution in the character of business organization in the period. Here clearly is a "partial change from the personally supervised investments in pre-war years to many with institutional management in 1792," a step distinctly "in the direction of impersonal and specialized capitalism."[44] This kind of economic institutional adaptation is possible in the urban scene when men of the city gather their resources to achieve some goal.

Valuable as aspirations, capital and business organization are in activating urban entrepreneurs, to be adept in government is a sine qua non of urban competitive imperialist. A creature of the state, and often with interest basically antagonistic thereto, city interest have to be identified with the public weal and translated into the law of the land. Only then can the entire process of setting the forces of "occupation and utilization" into motion be begun and the vast resources of the state be channeled and harnessed for particularistic urban ambitions and dreams, the scope of which often lying beyond the political boundaries of the state involved.

The right to grant a charter is the right to open the door to opportunity. This the states did to urban schemers. In all of the

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[41] Baldwin, *"American Business Corporations," loc. cit.*, 461, makes this assertion. George Mason in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 had tried to get Congress the power to charter canal companies only to see the suggestion lost by a vote of eight states to three.

[42] *Ibid.*, 464. Cf. Samuel Williston, "History of the Law of Business Corporations Before 1800," *Harvard Law Review*, II, No. 4, (November 15, 1888), *passim.* Note *Pennsylvania House Journal*, January 22, 1794, for the answer to a prayer against the Lancaster Road Company by the Legislative Committee on Petitions.

[43] *American State Papers*, X, Doc. 250. Observations of the stipulations in the charters are the basis of this statement. The charters are so detailed and specific until it is difficult to determine what policy discretion the companies had.

[44] East, *Business Enterprise*, 306.

charters there were the same items on a strict regulation of tolls, the monopoly item, a strict regulation of officers and fiscal policy of the companies, and the time limit for the completion of the project. There were also the recurrent promise of appropriations to aid the companies either as loans, or mortgages on their works, or the purchase of stock.

The states assisted the companies further by extending to them its right of eminent domain. The charters and the legislation reveal that the state governments had no intention of letting anything stand in the way of the pet schemes of their urban entrepreneurs. In most instances the companies could condemn land within certain limits of the project, which limit was expanded gradually as necessity demanded. However, the legislatures provided in most instances for arbitration of conflicting claims by juries of impartial substantial property holders in the justice court of the vicinity. This was particularly true of minor's and non compos mentis property.[45] Withal the tendency of the legislatures was to expand the power of the companies in this respect.

Entrepreneurs also were able to persuade state solons that it was necessary to give special protection to their efforts to get funds. Legislation gave the companies the power to hail a delinquent subscriber into court to make him pay his pledged obligation. Pennsylvania and New York required simple forfeiture at law, if the subscriber did not pay, with the right of reselling the stock. Virginia had no intention of letting the subscriber off that easy. There was to be no foolishness about the Potomac and James River schemes, especially since the schemes were for the public good and the state's money was tied up in it. If the subscriber did not realize the gravity of his public duty, the company could take him to court.[46] The jury in such litigation was, by law, instructed to answer only two questions. Did the subscriber accept the responsibility? If so, had he met it? Interestingly enough, the burden of proof rested on the subscriber who was defendant in action, and not on the company where it should since the company was plaintiff in action. This is a definite indication of the determination of the state to give its chartered companies every protection within the spirit and letter of the law.

Urban schemers are seldom more successful than the level of

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[45] *American State Papers* X, Doc. 250. Note the reservation on the use of the water in the canal for other than navigation purposes.

[46] *James River Company Acts*, 16. See Acts of 1787–1790.

technology they are able to command in their liaison with those useful in the production of goods and services in the urban scene will allow. Their schemes engender a universal enthusiasm which accounts for urban intergroup solidarity behind them and is responsible for overcoming many of the technical problems surrounding the execution of the project. However, urban aspiration often exceeds the knowledge to execute, presenting the necessity of a scramble for alternatives or adaptations of the original grand designs more in keeping with the reality of technical know-how. This was certainly true for the schemes for the possession of the Northwest trade, thus affording a provocative insight into pattern of inter-city rivalry.

The technology of the canal schemes demanded a series of navigable streams to be connected, and all of the early projects followed this pattern. It was not until the Erie that such projects were to cross long stretches of land and by viaducts across streams. The Susquehanna–Schuylkill project failure revealed that excessive labor cost was another important factor in canal technology, and there is a suggestion that labor scarcity effected the Potomac project.

Though there were canals in Europe, there seems to have been a shortage of canal engineers in the America's. Indeed most of the canals were started and the engineer hired after the project hit a snag. To this jaded age of specialization it is inconceivable that General Schuyler of New York should be allowed to direct the technical operation of two canal schemes for two years.[47] In 1795 Williams Weston, the English canal engineer, having lost his job on the Schuylkill–Susquehanna project, was hired by the "Yorkers" to straighten out the confusion at Little Falls. Pennsylvanians had found Weston most inadequate because he spent or estimated expenditures above actual cost.[48] James Rumsey, the boat builder who had never seen a canal before, was directing the work on the Potomac project at Great Falls. Let it be said to his credit that the blasting through solid rock there with black powder was considered a masterpiece in Europe at the time.

If the inadequacy of engineering personnel posed a problem, the nature of tools and materials posed even a greater problem. The excavating tools were very crude. The plow and shovel were about all they amounted to on the Potomac project and we may so reason

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47 *Supplement to the Annual Report of the State Engineer & Surveyor of the State of New York*, 37 *et passim*.

48 *American State Papers*, X, Doc. 250.

on the others. However, once the canal was dug there was the problem of the locks. The Potomac Project was to suffer from wooden locks that rotted. The locks of the New York project suffered from the same trouble and had to be replaced in 1802. Pennsylvanians used brick coped with stone on the Schuylkill–Susquehanna project, with what success is not known.

The cumulative effect of technological limitations soon makes itself obvious in urban imperialism. The Potomac project began in 1786 at Great Falls just above Washington with a labor force of two hundred men. Management and labor worked manfully only to complete by 1802, in the face of inexperience, lack of funds, floods and other difficulties, the locks around Great Falls; and to have to show in 1808 only five short canals between Washington and a point above Harper's Ferry, the longest of which being around Little Falls—three thousand eight hundred and fourteen yards—carrying navigation to the tide water.

Where indeed were the results to back the vaunted words of the charter of the two states, with their niggardly appropriation of six thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars each, empowering a company to open a road from the headwaters of the Potomac to either the Cheat or the Monongahela "as commissioners . . . shall find most convenient and beneficial to the western settlers." By 1800, indeed 1825 when the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company took over, the Potomac project was nothing like near Cumberland to even think of constructing a road therefrom or nothing like near consumating the dreams of its instigators. Washington was dead before the locks at Great Falls were opened.

Maryland investors, persuaded of the value of the Potomac design, were holding in 1807 the largest amount of the stock either in testimony of their faith or the commercial predicament of their state.[49] That the Potomac scheme might have been moving too slowly for Maryland's entrepreneurs is indicated when in 1787 the Legislature passed an act providing for the establishment of several turnpike roads from Baltimore to the western and northwestern part of the state as a means of "greatly reducing the price of land carriage of produce and merchandise, and raise the value of land in said country and considerably increase the commerce of the state."[50]

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[49] *American State Papers*, X, Doc. 250. Maryland's shares 220, Virginia's, 70.

[50] Joseph Austin Durrenberger, *Turnpikes: A Study of the Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland.* Valdasta, Maryland, 1931, 37; "Records do not show that the joint appropriation for the Potomac–Cheat road was ever used, Hulbert *Paths of Inland Commerce*, 33.

Between the years 1796 and 1801 there were five turnpike companies with ample authority to accomplish Maryland's schemers purpose. Apparently in 1804 this had not been reached as the preamble of an act of that year reveals. However, in 1805, the Baltimore–Reistertown road[51] which was ere long to make Baltimore supreme even over Philadelphia, the commercial supremacy of which on the seaboard had not been questioned since a decade before the close of the colonial era, had materialized.

The "Yorkers" flying leap into their project soon encountered technological hardships. After Elkanah Watson's second journey to the Mohawk Valley with General Van Cortland, Stephen Bayard and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer in September of 1791, Watson placed his report thereof in the hands of Philip Schuyler, Revolutionary General and powerful Senator, who promised to give the project all aid. Favorable reports by the Commissioners of the Land Office and the passing of the Williams Bill by both houses of the Legislature was to receive the blessings of the Council of Revision March 30, 1792.[52] By the "Act for Establishing and Opening Lock Navigation within this State" two companies were incorporated, the "Western" and "Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company."[53]

With Philip Schuyler as president and engineer the work began in April of 1793 at Little Fall. However, not until 1796-97 was the link between Woods Creek and the Mohawk completed. Here again is the familiar story of inexperience, no funds and a tremendous task. By 1798 the project had only reached Lake Oneida.

The survey of a route between Lake Ontario and Erie by the Niagra river in 1796 was begun by a group of men.[54] Thus in 1798 the Niagra Canal Company was incorporated by the legislature with James Watson as president. The company was authorized to construct a canal from Stedman's landing above the falls to a point opposite Queenstown below. This project never materialized. This failure not only discouraged canal projects, but could have affected the road projects as well.[55]

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51 *American State Papers*, X, Doc. 250.

52 It should be noted that many friends of the project opposed the bill because they did not think it went far enough.

53 *American State Papers*, X, Doc. 250.

54 *Supplement to the Annual Report of the State Engineer and Surveyor of the State of New York*, 44, 60–61.

55 Benjamin DeWitt, "A Sketch of the Turnpike Roads in the State of New York," *Transactions of the Society of Useful Arts in the State of New York*, II, Albany, 1807, 190–204; *American State Papers*, X, Doc. 250.

Pennsylvanians were also forced into an alternative for a canal project. The plan which the Society for Promoting the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation proposed involved the improvement of water and land routes by way of the Delaware to Lake Ontario and Lake Otsego, and of eight routes by the Susquehanna drainage, north, northwest and west. The Schuylkill and Susquehanna Navigation Company was incorporated September 29, 1791, to connect Reading on the Schuylkill and Middleton on the Susquehanna; and the Delaware–Schuylkill Canal Company was chartered April 10, 1792, as the first leg of this path to the west.[56]

In spite of the fact that Robert Morris led Pennsylvania's projects, making them seem to be the leading canal schemes of the country, the companies were compelled to suspend their operations in 1794 after an outlay of four hundred forty thousand dollars. This failure was to discourage such schemes for years to come; and not until 1821, when the Erie was nearing completion, was this idea taken up again under the name "Union Canal."

Pennsylvanians were not without an alternative. The Legislature in 1792 incorporated a company to construct an "Artificial" road from Philadelphia to Lancaster, a distance of sixty-seven and one-half miles, to be known as "The Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company."[57] Road building had technically, though simply, advanced. Macadam and Telford had only begun to show the people of England how to build roads of crushed stone—an art first developed by the French engineer Tresaquet—when Pennsylvanians built the Lancaster Turnpike. That road was thirty-seven feet wide, twenty-four feet of which were laid with stone. By December 24, 1795 the "road from Lancaster to the west side of the Schuylkill was complete and in full operation."[58]

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56 Ringwalt, 44. Note also the sums spent in this work. For a more detailed analysis see *Pennsylvania House Journal* for 1793, Secretary of the Commonwealth A. J. Dallas' Report, Appendix Book "B' XXI, XXXVIII. These may be a bit confusing. Therefore it is suggested that the "Abstract" statement on the contracts for opening and improving Roads and Rivers to be found in the Pennsylvania Senate Journal, 1807, Appendix, pp. 3–17 as the most usable. This report shows that the Keystone state always favored roads over water communication for each year 1791–1800; and that fewer road contracts were put in suit because of lack of completion in proportion to the number of contracts granted than river contracts by the Attorney General.

57 Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation Systems*, 29; *American State Papers*, X, Doc. 250.

58 *Pennsylvania House Journal 1802–03*. This report by the President and Managers is very interesting and should be carefully read. The company, through its president Elliston Perot, intimates, against a wealth of historical writing to the contrary, that the road was not paying. The significant fact was that it was at least finished.

Lancaster was considered in 1800 "the largest inland town in the United States."[59] Well might Tench Coxe talk of inland manufacturing centers on the west bank of the Susquehanna as an internal market to supply the west,[60] for the road to Lancaster had put Pennsylvanians in striking distance. Quaker schemers were not through. In 1798 Abraham Witner was granted the right to erect a bridge over the Conestogo river near Lancaster which formed a part of the line of the turnpike. In the same year there was incorporated a company to build a bridge over the Schuylkill river at Market street, by which a direct and convenient entrance into Philadelphia from the eastern terminus of the turnpike might be made. This bridge cost three hundred thousand dollars, and at the time of its completion in 1801 was the most important work of its kind in the United States.[61] The big two or three ton Conestoga wagons, drwn by ten horses and freighted with hats, boots, powder, lead, and clothing, rolled from Philadelphia into the gateways to the western country.

To see the city as the focal point in the occupation and utilization of the earth by man—to see it as a cell where capital and entrepreneural skill are concentrated—to see the possessors of that skill and capital allied with other groups in this plural society to gather and create wealth and an aggressive cultural milieu is to see the possibilities of writing the entire history of America from the urban approach. Determinism at best must be handled with care in historical analysis. But he will be blind indeed who cannot see the march of progress across this continent from one cell of entrepreneural skill and capital to another—that however intrepid the coonskin cap pioneer was, behind him were the men of the counting house and supply to make his deeds possible.

GEORGE RUBLE WOOLFOLK

Prairie View A. & M. College,
Texas

59 P. W. Bidwell and John Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620–1860*, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication No. 358, Washington, 1925, 132.

60 Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States* ... 327 *et passim.*

61 Length: 750 feet; width: 42 feet.

Book Reviews

Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes: A Sociological Study of Saucío. By Orlando Fals-Borda. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, Florida, 1955. Pp. xii, 277. Illustrated. $5.00.

Orlando Fals-Borda is a young Colombian who received his Ph.D. degree in sociology at the University of Florida. His book is the first thorough work on the rural sociology of Colombia and represents a significant contribution to social science. More Latin Americans should be encouraged to make sociological and anthropological studies of their native lands.

In his own words the author has attempted to present an objective, sociological study of peasants living in the Colombian village of Saucío whose society typifies the "very real backwardness encountered in rural areas." His ultimate purposes are "to facilitate the future task of codification, analysis, and synthesis of Colombia's rural realities, and to help implement a plan to make Saucío and all its counterparts in Colombia the progressive communities that they may well become."

Utilizing the best sociological technique, Fals-Borda collected statistics on nearly everything in Saucío including the percentage of peasants who owned umbrellas and flashlights. When he leaves his statistics behind the author presents a penetrating insight into the Colombian peasant's way of life. Fals-Borda's intimate descriptions of the peasant's religion, family and personality show that he knew the people of Saucío very well indeed.

Passive and resigned are the terms the author uses to describe the ethos of Saucío. He deplores the cultural backwardness which causes peasants to remain content with their lot of illiteracy and poverty. Fals-Borda attributes the "stagnant" condition of peasant society in large part to the conservative influence of the Roman Catholic Church which promises salvation to those who accept their earthly sufferings and fulfill their ritual obligations. He urges church leaders to teach the peasants to strive for a better life and warns political leaders to correct injustices in peasant communities before a class struggle develops. The Colombian sociologist sees hope in the fact that some peasants "through the recognition of their oppressive conditions, are slowly developing an adequate sense of social injustice."

Fals-Borda's entire theoretical argument rests on the premise that the Western concept of progress should constitute a universal goal for all peoples. Belief in progress developed in Europe in the eighteenth century and became an article of liberal faith in the nineteenth century. As Kroeber has pointed out, the concept of progress today has the force of an a-priori assumption in Western civilization and it is adhered to with considerable fervor of emotion. The progress theory assumes that society must advance from a backward, primitive stage characterized by irrational ignorance to an ultimate civilized stage distinguished by knowledge and technological achievements such as those of the United States. This ethnocentric and sentimental dogma is not a scientific conclusion. The concept of progress assumes that our own form of Western civilization is the highest type of society and its patterns should be imposed on all other societies. Why should

the contented peasants of Saucío be urged to strive for the materialistic goals of the United States which have produced, not happiness, but an appallingly high rate of mental illness, suicide and divorce? The rich religious heritage of Saucío gives the peasants a sense of tranquility and security that more than compensates for their lack of material wealth. Sociological studies might well profit from the anthropological theory of cultural relativity which holds that every culture should be considered in the light of its own goals and values.

WILLIAM MADSEN

University of Texas

Merchants, Farmers, and Railroads: Railroad Regulation and New York Politics, 1850–1887. By Lee Benson. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1955. Pp. xvi, 310. Illustrated. $5.50.

Certainly the importance of transportation in American history needs no iteration, and Professor Benson adds his significant study in this field. Basically, this is a study in New York history, but the importance of the metropolis and the character of the phenomena under analysis both contribute to broadening the significance of the story Dr. Benson has to tell. The railroads enabled the other port cities to challenge New York's early supremacy. Soon overcapacity and the necessity of paying dividends on watered stock fostered trunk line rate wars that could only be settled by pooling agreements usually disadvantageous to New York. The reactions of the New Yorkers to these conditions furnish the substance of Dr. Benson's book.

The obvious response to railroad rate discriminations was an appeal for government intervention. Dr. Benson has skillfully delineated the diverse groups that sought this end at one time and another. Only a few individuals toiled unremittingly. The New York merchants were interested, but in varying degrees. Particular transportation policies had different effects on exporters and importers, wholesalers and commodity brokers, merchants of the city and of the hinterland. New York farmers felt the impact of competition from the cheaper lands to the West and bore the brunt of the monopolistic rates the railroads charged from non-competitive points. But, as Dr. Benson shows, the farmers were far from being united in interest. Nor were their transportation needs identical with the merchants'. To make their influence felt the reform agitators had to combine. The tide of demand for regulatory legislation rose and fell as the situation in the railroad world and in the national economy affected a greater or lesser number of these multitudinous interests. Success in the campaign for reform ultimately hinged on the exigencies of New York partisan politics. Here, too, Dr. Benson has ably unraveled an extremely complex situation. The factional strife then dividing both major parties alternately raised and dashed the hopes of the reformers. Repeatedly politicos sought the support of the anti-railroad forces, and repeatedly sacrificed their desires to the higher demands of partisan advantage.

Inevitably the demands for railroad reform found expression on the national level. In this portion of his account, Dr. Benson occasionally stands on shaky ground. His thesis is that New York merchants played the predominant role in the national movement. Since this theme is incidental to his central focus on New York, it is understandable that he should have failed to establish the broader claim. An overwhelming proportion of his material is drawn from New York sources, which tends naturally to exaggerate the importance of New Yorkers. The temptation implicit in his data was doubtless aggravated by a current preoccupation of American historiography. In recent years many efforts have been made to recall the eastern contributions to native American radicalism and reform. The different works of such historians as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Frederick Merk, and Chester M. Destler, for example, are united in this concern. Dr. Benson, too, has enlisted in this cause, although the quarrel is not strictly germane to the main story he has to tell. This incidental enterprise, plus the nature of his materials has led him to underemphasize the influence of financial interests, inland waterway enthusiasts, and, in general, the West, in the national campaign for railroad regulation. These minor shortcomings do not detract from the truly substantial merits of this book. Throughout the author has stressed the opportunism that, among all the actors, overshadowed theory, confirming from yet another quarter the pragmatism of the American character. But most of all, his lucid exposition of the intricate interrelationships among economic and political interest groups sheds a brilliant light on the impact of transportation changes and, more broadly, on the processes by which the American mixed economy developed.

Robert W. McCluggage,

Loyola University, Chicago

Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey: Autobiography and Letters. Edited by William B. Hesseltine. Tennessee Historical Commission, 1956. Pp. 367. Nashville.

Who was Dr. Ramsey? That was the question in my mind as I opened this book. Before long I learned that Dr. James Gettys McGready Ramsey, Tennessee historian, had left a deep impression upon his native state. In addition to being a physician, he was at one time or another a canal commissioner, a school commissioner, a bank president, a farmer, a Presbyterian elder, a poet, a register of deeds, a contributor to magazines and a writer of books, a Confederate treasury agent, a postmaster, a ferry operator, a trustee of colleges and at all times a "philosopher who thought deeply upon the problems of the South and the nature of the southern people." He was devoted to the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson and he loved Tennessee, believing, like Robert E. Lee that his first obligation was to his native state. He was sorry when war broke out in 1861 but he never doubted where his loyalty lay. He was then sixty-four years old. Being committed

to the states' rights principles of Jefferson and Calhoun and because he believed that there were irreconcilable differences between the North and the South, Dr. Ramsey, associated himself with the Confederacy, even though the bond was to cost him dearly. Five of his sons joined the southern forces; one died in the war. Two of his daughters died because of privations caused by the war. His youngest daughter was exiled from Knoxville and his wife was forced to become a refugee. Ramsey's beautiful mansion, Mecklenburg, at the head of the Tennessee River, was burned by a northern soldier. Ramsey himself became a Confederate treasury agent. He also served as a surgeon in the army. Although a very wealthy man in 1861, at the end of the war he was impoverished and started life over again as a physician in Charlotte, North Carolina. In 1870 he finished his *Autobiography.* He had previously published a work entitled *Annals of Tennessee.* He had become acquainted by 1850 with Lyman C. Draper of the Wisconsin Historical Society, with the result that an intermittent correspondence was maintained between the two men until Ramsey's death in 1884.

Although this is not an easy book to read, you will learn more about the Civil War from it than from a shelf of Civil War novels such as *Andersonville.* You will find yourself associated with a man of unquestioned honor and probity, who nevertheless believed that Tennessee was a sovereign state, with a right to leave the Union if she so wished. You will be dealing with a man who wrote his thoughts clearly and fearlessly. The fact that you may not like his thoughts will not necessarily make them wrong. He represents an attitude which must be understood by anyone who makes a serious effort to pierce the Civil War period. You will find Ramsey writing at length in justification of reopening the slave trade in the years before the war; you will find him writing at length upon his conviction that Negroes were inferior to white people; you will find him predicting in 1858 that a break would come between the North and the South because he was convinced that the sections were mutually incompatible; you will find him giving many reasons in justification of slavery, which Ramsey believed was morally right; you will find him stating in 1870 that he still believed that the convictions he had held during the Civil War period were correct and justified. If you wish to read the innermost thoughts of a man who sacrificed everything for a cause that he considered just, here is a book that you should read. Unless you are mentally ossified, it may force you to modify some of your dearest convictions.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

America Moves West. By Robert E. Riegel. New York. 1956. Third Edition. Pp. xii, 660. $7.75.

This third edition, like its two predecessors, is a first-rate example of a good textbook. Clear style, neat division of matter, material sufficient for an average student grasp of the subject, sufficient and pertinent bibliographies, positive and urbane approach, have kept the book at the top of the

list for a quarter-century. Riegel first turned it out in his vigorous twenties, and in 1955 he—like the Turner whom he cites on page 633 with some misgivings—still saw in 1955 "no reason for changing as much as a footnote in what he had written "twenty-five years earlier." This edition adds to its forebears one chapter of seventeen pages on "The Golden West," and a few up-to-date titles in the lists of books. The new section on the Pacific Slope follows the pattern of the entire composition. In a word, the work stands as a model text in the basic fact that, when studied, it can be remembered.

This reviewer has used the text in classroom exercise and has found but one point worth cavil, an aloof criticism of the influence of the frontier. Now to his surprise the jacket, under a brilliant American Eagle, carries the caption: "The significance and the influence of the frontier in the development of the distinctive culture of the United States." It seems that publishers take liberties with authors. For the jacket announcement is certainly not the theme of a book whose chapter on "The Historian Discovers the West" quite plainly questions the Turner theory in a series of observations calculated to diminish that hypothesis to the point of liquidation. In those passages the critic would seem to miss the mark. Turner's "democracy" did not take root in political thought but in the actual conditions of life. He would be surprised to read that his essay would "merit any important generalities" beyond the area of his studies, surely not in Canada, Brazil or Russia. It is not to him *idea* (page 638) but *practice*. More confusion appears when the chapter (page 634) indicts the old master for absorption in the economics of the frontier, while later (page 637) Turner stands the charge of over-emphasizing liberty as the propulsive force.

This business is indeed on the high level of interpretation, and no reviewer should pretend to be a corporation sole in that department. But on another note the text has a real hiatus. After Rister delivered his notable presidential address (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXXVII (1951), 3–16) on "The Oilman's Frontier," no writer should pass over the immense mutation of society and culture that derives from the production of oil in the Western States. Today Texas has a college supported by every county. The vast road-system beyond the Mississippi is no less historic than the enormous fact of the automobile. This black gold belongs in the drama called *America Moves West.*

W. Eugene Shiels, S.J.

Xavier University, Cincinnati

The Use of History in the Decisions of the Supreme Court: 1900–1930. By John J. Daly, M.M. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1954. Pp. xv, 218. Paper.

Caleb Cushing, Attorney General of the United States, 1853–1857. By Sister M. Michael Catherine, O.P. The Catholic University of America Press, 1955. Pp. viii, 221. Paper.

Decisions of the Supreme Court are, of course, influenced by many factors. The part played by considerations of history would be difficult

to determine. Father Daly has tried to achieve some estimate by examining the opinions of the justices in the major cases decided between 1900 and 1930. This was the Court under Chief Justices Fuller, White, and Taft. They were courts rather conservative in their viewpoint.

The conclusions finally reached are more or less what would have been expected; namely, that various justices made use of history in varying degrees and with varying results. Some cases, like the Myers case, lent themselves more readily to historical argument than others. Some justices, like Brandeis and White, were better historians than others. In any case, the "criticism of the justices as lacking a knowledge of the facts of history, or as failing to utilize historical data, is on the whole, unjustified."

Sister M. Michael Catherine Hodgson's study of Caleb Cushing, Attorney General in the Pierce administration is one of a number of studies conducted at the Catholic University of America on the development of the American presidency. It represents a personality mediocre in stature in an era of mediocrity. Had the decade of 1850 been less bankrupt in political leadership subsequent history might have been different. Cushing was, in some respects, the most noteworthy political figure the age could produce, and his political instability was fairly typical.

As a practical politician engineering the election of Pierce and as Attorney General supervising the land claims in California, expanding the Office towards departmental status, and flexing muscles towards England and France, he used his position to some advantage. But he did little to clarify the problems of the presidency or enhance the prestige of his party.

The study, while thorough and orderly, is nevertheless unavoidably inconclusive. The person of Cushing remains controversial and vague, because he was that sort of person. The author did well with the little she had to work with.

PAUL WOELFL

Loyola University, Chicago

Notes and Comments

On April 23, 1856, a group of prominent Chicagoans inspired by the Reverend William Barry organized The Chicago Historical Society. Despite the trials and tribulations of a century the dogged persistence of each generation of officers and members has brought the Society to its present flourishing state of health. To commemorate its hundredth birthday Paul M. Angle, Director of the Society, was assigned the task of preparing a suitable history of the hundred years. This he has done in a unique volume: *The Chicago Historical Society 1856–1956. An Unconventional Chronicle.*

Mr. Angle has well chosen all of the documents pertinent to the progress of the Society and has arranged them chronologically with his own comments upon the significance of each particular item. The materials are taken from letters, minutes of meetings, records of events, old pictures, maps, and newspapers. Constantly the history of the Society is tied in with the major episodes and eras of Chicago's development. Above all the human elements stand out, the personalities with their foibles, the characters of the men and women who were so bent upon presenting to the world evidence of Chicago's culture in the form of an historical society and its building sheltering the heirlooms of the city's past. Even the buildings have a humanity about them, the first destroyed in the Chicago fire of 1871, the second destroyed by fire in 1874, the "temporary" abode of twenty years duration, the rock building which the Gilpin's made possible and which was headquarters from 1896 until 1932, when the present building at the entrance to Lincoln Park opened its doors.

The book does much to dispel ideas about the stodginess of history and historical museums and in two instances leans backward to do so, some might say. The style and the descriptions leave few dull moments to the reader. The illustrations with few exceptions are from original paintings or photographs in the Society's collections. The design and the printing and the index are excellent. The list price is a reasonable seven dollars fifty.

* * * *

It is very fortunate that Professor David A. Lockmiller chose to continue with his scholarly work in law and history after becoming president of the University of Chattanooga, for if he had chosen

to be completely distracted by details of his office we would be without his recent definitive biography, *Enoch H. Crowder, Soldier, Lawyer and Statesman.* This was published last year as Volume XXVII of The University of Missouri Studies, University of Missouri, Columbia, where it is available for the modest sum of five dollars.

Crowder was born in Grundy County, Missouri, in 1859 and died seventy-three years later in Walter Reed Hospital. Fifty of these years were spent in public service. Dr. Lockmiller spent fifteen years gathering materials to cover the busy life of the man who was prominent in the news during the first quarter of this century. Crowder entered West Point in 1877, enjoyed some pranks such as old grads love to talk about, and received his commission and an assignment in 1881 to the Eighth Cavalry which was then in Texas. With time on his hands he continued his studies of law until 1884 when on passing the Texas bar examination he was licensed as an attorney. This was a step toward his transfer from the cavalry to the legal department of the Army and then to a professorship in military science and tactics at the University of Missouri. His law and teaching had to be dropped for a year while he was out west helping to capture Geronimo. He spent the next two years at the University then was sent to Dakotas for twenty months beginning with 1889 against Sitting Bull and the Sioux. After trying some cases Crowder was permanently attached to the staff of the Judge Advocate General of the Army in January, 1895.

Thus in four chapters Dr. Lockmiller prepares his biographee for the major work of his life and for his meetings with many national and international figures. The book has a chapter on Crowder's work in the Philippines as staff officer and advocate and another on his sojourn with the Japanese army in Manchuria. His work on election laws in Cuba is followed by his mission to Argentina for the Pan American Congress. He became Advocate General in 1911 and, a recognized authority on military law, Judge Advocate General. His reforms and his adept reorganization of the staff and its procedures won him wide acclaim. Probably the most interesting chapters are those on the Selective Service Act, the famous draft during the first World War, the criticism and slurs, and the court-martial system, in each of which Crowder's name was prominent. The last two chapters cover his work in Cuba as an ambassa-

dor and the conclusion of his fifty years of service. There is a bibliography of source materials and a suitable index.

* * * *

From February to June of this year the press was agog with the news of internal strife in Sovietdom. Khrushchev was demolishing the last icon of communism, Stalin, in the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU. His attack was on the "cult of the individual" as built by Stalin in traitorous contempt for the Marx-Lenin gospel of party rule. The secret speech leaked out. Then a secret report was sent to the party leaders in other countries outside the USSR. The Department of State of the United States released an English translation of it to the press on June 4, without vouching for the authenticity of the document. By July the Russian Institute of Columbia University had gathered the comments on the report of party leaders in other countries and had rushed the whole batch of documents into print. The paper-cover volume of 338 pages, *The Anti-Stalin Campaign and International Communism,* is available at The Columbia University Press for one dollar and seventy-five cents.

These documents should be read. Whether Khrushchev is literate enough to have composed his ninety-one page speech on communist principles and aims is a question, but certainly his ideas couched in any terms are clear and damning of the monstrous turpitude of the mass-murderer Stalin. It seems clear that some day someone will write a similar report about Khrushchev's guilt, as is foreshadowed in an editorial in the *Daily Worker.* There are seventeen additional documents: statements of party leaders in Italy, France, Great Britain, Russia and the United States, and editorials from the press of each of these countries. Obviously, international Communism is at a crossroads trying to decide which "cult of the individual" to follow— Stalin's, Lenin's, or Khrushchev's.

* * * *

The "first day of school" for Southern Illinois University at Carbondale was July 2, 1874. It was the opening day of summer school for teachers and prospective teachers, and marked a second great step in teacher-training institutions chartered and supported by the State of Illinois. The normal school remained a college until

1943 when it reached university status. In 1949 it celebrated its diamond jubilee, for which a manuscript history of the institution was prepared by Eli Gilbert Lentz who has been an English instructor and professor and administrator these past forty some years at Southern. In 1955 the manuscript was published as *75 Years in Retrospect: Southern Illinois University 1874–1949*. The story of the struggle to get state aid for the Egypt area of Illinois, to get faculties and buildings, is only additional proof of the adage that education like knowledge makes a bloody entrance. The book is well printed and aptly illustrated, quite in accord with the thoughtful retrospect of Mr. Lentz.

* * * *

Gringo Lawyer is an autobiography by Thomas Waverly Palmer published this year by University of Florida Press, Gainesville. Written in the pleasant, familiar manner of the born conversationalist who is able to see the amusing as well as the dignified side of himself, Mr. Palmer traces the sixty-five years of his life from his birth into a professor's family on the campus of the University of Alabama to his recent retirement from a position as legal consultant for affiliated oil companies of the Caribbean. Finishing his undergraduate studies at Alabama young Palmer studied law at Harvard. He obtained his degree and was awarded a fellowship for travel and study in Spain during 1914. The knowledge of Spanish and Spanish law gained during this sojourn was a prelude to his thirty years of legal activity in Latin America for United States copper and petroleum interests and as counsel for the Petroleum Supply Commission. During his busy years and wide travels he found time to make contributions to the book shelves of law and to law journals. The volume has many interesting anecdotes and observations, to say nothing of Mr. Palmer's meetings with very important people in national and international affairs.

* * * *

A call for help comes from Professor Raúl Noriega. He has long been studying the ancient Mexican hieroglyphic writings hoping to find the key that would lead to their deciphering. He worked out a key to the symbols representing numbers and presented his solution in a 445 page planograph volume: *La Piedra del Sol y 16*

Monumentos Astronómicos del Mexico Antiguo; Simbolos y Claves. The seventeen carved stones are known to archeologists as calendars of the Mayan and later Mexican civilizations Noriega by putting in his numbers for the signs is able to indicate the number of days in the year of the ancients and the multipliers which give cycles of years. Moreover, the years are estimated astronomically according to the sun, the stars and the planets.

When he presented his findings before the Mexican Society of Anthropology and History the savants discussing the conclusions brought two arguments against Noriega, namely, that no historian or chronicler has written anything about the signs and there is no way of knowing what they meant in the mythology of the ancients, and secondly, that the astronomical calculations need a complete checking before final acceptance. So, Señor Noriega wants the help of a mathematician and an astronomer for the production of his definitive edition on the calendar stones.

* * * *

Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783–1860, by Cornelius Oliver Cathey, published this year by the University of North Carolina Press, is Volume 38 of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. This is a scholarly work with an historical and geographic approach to the chapters on landholders, laborers, implements, products, and livestock in the farming areas of North Carolina. It has an ample bibliography and index in the 229 paper bound edition.

* * * *

"A Note on the Relationship between the Protestant Churches and the Revived Ku Klux Klan," by Robert Moats Miller, appears among the Notes and Documents in the August 1956, *Journal of Southern History.* Mr. Miller says: "By 1925 perhaps as many as four or five million white, Protestant, native-born patriots were engaged in or tacitly supporting acts of intimidation, terror, and torture against their Negro, Catholic, Jewish, and foreign-born neighbors." He mentions the generally known tie-up between the Klan and the Protestant churches and the many ministers who were officers in the Invisible Empire, but throws new light upon the position of the Protestant press. One by one he quotes from the Protestant

newspapers and journals and reveals that their writers were almost unanimous in condemning the Klan. Secondly, an investigation of the minutes of the official national conventions, assemblies, and councils, showed condemnation of lynching, mob violence and night-riding, but generally avoided direct mention of the Klan. Thirdly, Mr. Miller separates the many lesser-known ministers of smaller towns who joined the Klan from the better-known and prominent church leaders who repudiated it and its purposes.

* * * *

The young women students of Marygrove College, Detroit, have as in past years collaborated with remarkably good results in the production of their annual historical publication. The 1956 brochure of eighty-two double-column pages is entitled *The Living Church* with a sub-heading "The Voice of the Bishops throughout the World." Each of the authors of the essays presents the thought, interpretation, and action of bishops of the Catholic Church on one or other of the many problems of society, as divorce, family morality, Christian education, social and racial justice, juvenile delinquency, communism and totalitarianism, and human rights. The pages are well documented with episcopal pronouncements. A fine bibliography of twenty-two long columns concludes the nicely printed and illustrated symposium.

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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXXVIII

INDEXER'S NOTE

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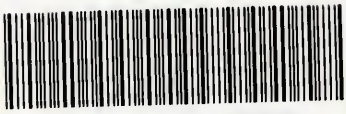

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